

New Republic

An eagle with spread wings, perched on a branch, is positioned behind the word "Republic" in the masthead.

What

About

Labor?

Henry A. Wallace *EDITOR*

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Letter of the Week

Billy Rose Writes the Editor:

Henry A. Wallace, Esq.

Sir:

I was flattered the other afternoon when one of your editors phoned and asked me to write an article for the year-end issue of your magazine. He suggested a piece which might have been titled, "Broadway Swan Song," a description of the last gold-plated New Year's Eve before the easy money gets tough again.

I told him I couldn't write it because I didn't believe it. I told him I thought the next decade would see a string of New Year's parties which would make this one look like a Campfire Girl social. I told him I couldn't go along with the misfortune-tellers and network Nostradamuses who say we're all going to Hell in a hanging basket. You see, I don't think the bellyache is as bad as the bellyachers make it out to be.

Before you write me off as a pip-squeak Pollyanna, may I tell you why I have no faith in these gloomy Gabriels? I know some of them. In almost all cases they're sour-grape boys who are no longer "in." During the first 10 years of Roosevelt, these self-declared economists had access to the throne, and performed the financial abracadabra which has made Swiss cheese out of the buck. I remember when these pipe-smoking masterminds had no time for a sound man like Bernard Baruch. They didn't want to hear that one and one was two when they had just announced it was seven.

Now that they're "out," these minor prophets are trying to pick up some major profits by talking up disaster for women's clubs, radio forums, and what are vaguely called "discussion groups." I thought they were full of prunes in '36. I feel the same way about them in '46.

Right now you're probably saying, "Where does this jack-in-the-box showman get off making economic big talk? Why doesn't he tend to his baubles and

(Continued on page 934)



JOHN HERSEY



TAYLOR CALDWELL



CHRISTOPHER MORLEY



ILKA CHASE



ELMER DAVIS



JOHN DOS PASSOS



WALTER LIPPMANN



RAYMOND SWING



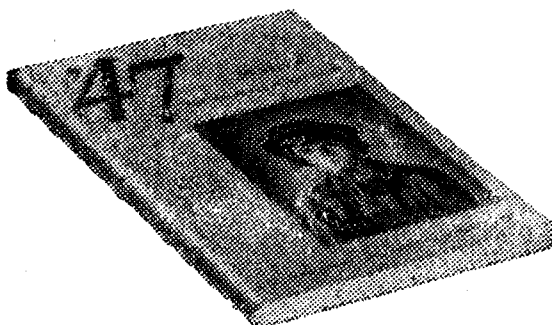
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'47 - THE MAGAZINE OF THE YEAR

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News In Focus

State of the Union

The Administration

THE WHITE HOUSE crew worked feverishly to trim the sails of the ship of state against the gathering gale of a Republican Congress. This week counsel Clark Clifford, the President's current navigator, struggled with the state-of-the-Union message which the President will deliver to Congress after the turn of the year. The message, along with two others to follow (on the budget and economic policy), would start the Democratic Administration's course over the rocky voyage ahead.

Facts, figures, plans and recommendations were flowing rapidly into the White House. A procession of advisers led through the Executive Mansion. Most of them wanted to talk about labor legislation and to volunteer suggestions for beating the Republicans to the punch. The President jotted down the citations. The state-of-the-Union message, Washington surmised, would make few concrete recommendations calculated to raise the blood pressure of the Republican majority on Capitol Hill.

The President's mood toward labor was amply demonstrated at his press conference. He snapped that he did not want any strikes, that nobody wanted strikes, and that he didn't think any of them were necessary. At the last rally, one of the President's labor advisers fished and shook his head in quick warning to say no more.

One batch of labor proposals on the desk of speech-drafter Clifford would reduce strikes by making it riskier to call one. Most of these plans aimed at weakening unions by cutting their economic power. A bill which Representative Howard Smith (D, Va.) personally carried to the White House typified this approach. It disarmingly advocated

changes in the Wagner Act "to restore equality between unions and industry and to protect the paramount interest of the general public."

To accomplish this end the Smith approach would: outlaw strikes in public utilities and related industries; forbid secondary boycotts and sympathy strikes; prohibit the closed shop and industry-wide bargaining; bar foremen from unions; and make unions liable for damages resulting from breach of contract.

But neither the President nor Clifford were searching for a labor program that would sound punitive. Careful consideration also was being given to the proposals sent in by Labor Secretary Lewis Schwellenbach and other advocates of moderation. These plans sought, without weakening unions, to avert strikes by strengthening mediation and arbitration. The emphasis would be upon putting it up to labor and industry to settle their own disputes. Under the Schwellenbach approach the government would lend a hand to the extent of expanding its present Labor Department staff of career conciliators, and by appointing labor-industry advisers and emergency boards.

Past these divergent headings Clark Clifford spun the compass. Aboard his somewhat battered ship (see page 912) the President might find a way to steer around Republican demands for even more drastic curbs on the rights of labor.

Fainter and Fainter

Free Speech

LIBERAL voices were growing fainter in the US press and radio. In Washington, columnist Thomas L. Stokes prepared to go to the mat with the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain. Stokes was fed up with the Scripps-Howard papers, which consistently omit his column to suit their editorial taste.

In New York, Mutual's radio station WOR dropped news analyst Frank Kingdon from its week-day programs. A letter to the FCC from the Political Action Committee deplored the move:

"We have seen in the last few months the dismissal of many commentators associated with the progressive viewpoint by the major networks. . . . The National Broadcasting Company has dismissed John Vandercook, Robert St. John, Don Hollenbeck and Don Goddard. . . . In Los Angeles, Station KFI . . . dropped six local commentators. . . . WOR, in refusing to retain the liberal analyst, Dr. Frank Kingdon, on a sustaining basis . . . has joined the crusade to keep liberal commentary from the people."

Soviet Reconversion

Moscow

HOPES of easier times ahead for Russia's war-disrupted economy are rising with a noticeable increase in consumer items on the shelves of Moscow shops. But there are also signs that Soviet industry is not exempt from the bottlenecks of reconversion which have plagued the peacetime recovery of more capital-minded Allies.

Moscow's big stores this year held Christmas sales, and articles not seen for ages outside second-hand shops were prominently displayed. They ranged from ice skates at \$4 a pair to pianos at \$600. To cope with the swelling flow of merchandise, steps have been taken to open new retail points. After a break of some ten years, consumer coöperative societies were again allowed to open their city stores. They are, as *Izvestia* wrote last week, not a temporary phenomenon. Between now and the middle of next year it is planned to open more than 10,000 new shops and stalls and 2,000 public restaurants.

But difficulties with the output of agricultural machinery have taken some of the luster from this picture. The Ukraine still lacks half of its (prewar) 80,000 tractors and the remainder are wearing out faster than replacements can be obtained. A conference of the Central Committee was called to face up to the problem. Within a few days of its conclusion, the press launched a hard-hitting campaign to step up output from Stalingrad, Kharkov, Rostov, Chelyabinsk and other assembly plants. The campaign also stressed the need for improvement in the quality of spare parts. Out of 3,100 tractor parts recently produced by the "Red Proletariat" plant, complained the Moscow *Bolshevik*, about 2,000 were unusable.

Faults and delays in production are generally attributed by critics to disorganization. The managerial boards of factories with fine war records, such as the Kirov works at Chelyabinsk and the shadow factory of the Leningrad works of the same name, are being accused of "conceit and complacency." The faults outlined in the press include the neglect of techniques developed during the war, wastage of skilled labor and extravagant expansion of auxiliary departments. The Chelyabinsk factory's management was reproached for diverting 5,000 workers to the factory's provisioning branch. The call for better organization is heard today from all sides, and, meanwhile, incentives to labor are more abundant.

Bargaining Tactics

Labor

IN PITTSBURGH last week the CIO high command blocked out the tactics of its winter wage drive. The broad strategy had been set by the release of the controversial Nathan Report, documenting labor's case for higher pay without higher prices. The Pittsburgh meeting of steel and electrical-union leaders was to decide how best to maneuver across the bargain table.

Walter Reuther's United Automobile Workers, meeting earlier in New York, had come out impulsively with a demand for a 23.5-cents-an-hour increase. The figure was based on Nathan's findings that inflation had set back labor's real income over 20 percent and that

industry in general could afford a 25-percent wage increase within peak profits of \$15 billion for 1946.

Philip Murray, president of the Steel Workers' Union, and Albert Fitzgerald, of the Electrical Workers, made it clear that they intended to take a different tack (see page 924). Their two unions, representing 1.4 million members, simply announced they would seek "substantial" increases. Neither followed Reuther's pattern of naming a specific figure. That would be hammered out in the process of collective bargaining during the months to come.

Showdown on Argentina

Foreign Affairs

A SHOWDOWN is developing on US policy toward Argentina's Strong Man, Juan D. Peron. Republicans on Capitol Hill are sounding off with increasing frequency on this line:

In the interests of "hemisphere solidarity" (and good business), the US should relax its demand that Argentina keep its promise to deport key German agents still operating there; Assistant Secretary of State Spruille Braden, chief architect of this firm policy, should be fired.

Senator Brewster of Maine is the latest addition to the GOP's pro-Peron, anti-Braden chorus. Returning from a trip to Argentina, Brewster praised Peron as a "very vital and energetic" leader who apparently desired peace. He added that US policy toward Argentina contained "schizophrenia" and should be "clarified." Besides, said Brewster, Argentine businessmen had told him "the alternative to Peron is chaos."

Brewster and other self-appointed experts on Latin America may get help from George S. Messersmith, US ambassador to Argentina, due back in Washington this week for "consultations." Messersmith has spent much of his time in Buenos Aires (1) buttering up Peron, and (2) writing long letters to friends criticizing the Braden policy. Secretary of State Byrnes is still angry at Messersmith for by-passing official channels. Like many important State Department decisions these days, however, the result of the Byrnes-Messersmith talks may hinge on the Secretary of

State's estimate of his support in Congress.

If Byrnes feels strong enough to buck the GOP clamor—which will be backed by certain Army, Navy and business leaders—Messersmith's case for conciliatory tactics toward Peron may fall on deaf ears. In that event, the 63-year-old Messersmith may retire, citing his old stomach ailment as the reason.

But Byrnes probably would scrap the Braden policy if he believed it necessary to ensure continued Republican support for other foreign-policy objectives. It may be significant that Senator Vandenberg specifically mentioned Latin America in saying that Republicans would like to participate in foreign-policy matters, other than those affecting European peace treaties.

Chicago's Mayor

Illinois

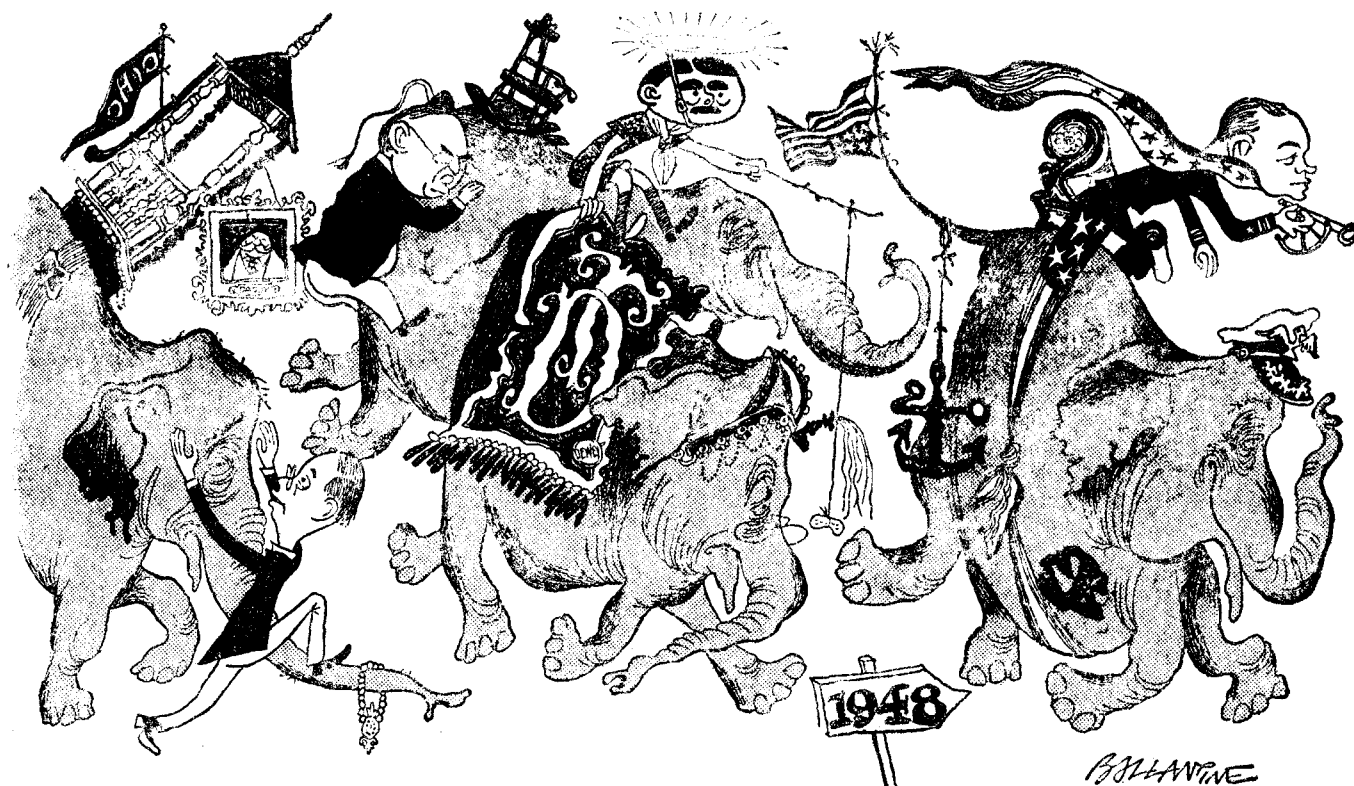
REPUBLICAN Governor Dwight Green and the Chicago *Tribune's* Robert R. McCormick had already hand-picked obscure Russell W. Root, a GO wheel horse, to run for mayor of Chicago. Then the Democratic boss, Mayor Edward J. Kelly, chose Martin H. Kennelly, a generous campaign contributor, as his nominee. After nearly 14 years, Kelly said he would retire from City Hall when his term expires next spring.

Elephant Derby

Politics

THE THUNDER of galloping hoofs heard in Washington's Mayflower Hotel last week was the signal that the first entry was off the mark in the race for the 1948 GOP presidential nomination. Tossing tradition to the winds, Minnesota's Harold E. Stassen called a press conference to proclaim his ambition to occupy the White House.

Stassen's unique candor seemed to catch his Republican rivals completely off their guard. With elephantine grace the other contenders coyly dodged the issue. Senator Taft said in Atlanta that he did not consider himself an "active" candidate. Michigan's Arthur Vandenberg echoed the sentiment. In Albany, Governor Thomas E. Dewey was also asked whether he was ready to confirm



his candidacy. "Certainly not, period" was the cryptic reply.

The US public, looking over the field of shrinking violets, was not fooled. Harold Stassen, whip in hand, was riding hard. But the lumbering mounts of other Republican hopefuls would be kicking up plenty of dust in the home stretch.

Remember?

Tokyo

THE TRIAL of ex-Premier Tojo and 15 other suspected Japanese war criminals continues—half-forgotten by the world and “covered” at most sessions by a bare half-dozen American and Allied reporters. Eight months after Tojo and Company first faced their judges, even the Japanese newspapers are becoming apathetic, splashing the evidence only when some gossipy tidbit turns up or when—as in the case of statements on the rape of Nanking—“encouraged” by the occupation authorities.

Not so, however, the Japanese public. The people still crowd the spectators' gallery, drawn there less by the unfolding story of the carefully planned crimes of Japan's ersatz Napoleons and Talley-

rands than by a desire to sit and study
the men who caused all the misery.

A good deal of the evidence sustaining the charge of a Japanese conspiracy against humanity was successfully destroyed before the Americans moved in. But documents methodically filed by their Nazi partners in international crime have been arriving in Tokyo by the ton. The prosecution will complete its case in January or February, and the defense three or four months later. Sentences are expected around July. There is also talk of a second major trial to follow—not all the top-rank militarists and their civilian lackeys now in Sugamo prison could be accommodated in the dock at one time.

Meanwhile, despite the lack of international interest, this penultimate chapter for Tojo and his companions is supplying a complete and objective account of Japan's career of brigandage. By contrast the 76 million inhabitants of Japan are daily encouraged to regard two decades of naked aggression as the "recent unpleasantness," now happily over and best forgotten. At a private gathering of American and Japanese recently, a general on MacArthur's staff was heard to remark: "The Japanese army was a first rate army. It committed

atrocities, but these are understandable when an army has its back to the wall."

Atomic Compromise

United Nations

BERNARD BARUCH was pressing too far and too fast in the opinion of delegates from France, Canada, the Netherlands, Poland and Russia. He wanted the entire atomic-control question settled now and in his own way. That way was to outlaw the veto from international control of atomic weapons.

Canada's General Andrew G. L. McNaughton came up with a compromise. He proposed that the Atomic Energy Commission accept the principles on which Baruch's proposals were based and refer the proposals themselves to committee review. The resolution passed without the participation of Russia and with the abstention of Poland. Baruch claimed victory and said the committee would make only drafting changes in his proposals. Canada, however, had more than that in mind.

Ever since the Atomic Energy Commission was set up by the Security Council to outline an atom-control plan, the veto had been the hard core of disagreement. Everyone (including Baruch),

now agrees that the Security Council will retain the right of veto while drafting final control proposals. Everyone has already agreed that the proposed control and inspection commissions will not use the veto. But Baruch wants more—he wants the veto outlawed when the Security Council gets around to punishing violators.

There is some doubt whether it is either legal or desirable to outlaw the veto in punishing violators. Russia feels it would be a clear violation of the UN Charter. Canada thinks it would violate the terms of the General Assembly resolution on disarmament, "within the framework" of the Security Council. France feels that discussions on this aspect of the veto would be precipitous until categories of violations and types of punishments have been discussed.

The working committee of the Atomic Energy Commission now has the task of revising Baruch's proposals to conform with the UN Charter and the General Assembly disarmament resolution. It must do so in time to submit a report to the Security Council by January 1.

New Attitude

United Nations

BY A UNANIMOUS VOTE the UN Security Council has agreed to send a fact-finding commission to investigate border disputes between Greece and her Balkan neighbors—Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Three months ago Russia had vetoed a similar proposal. This time she joined her 10 Security Council colleagues in an affirmative vote.

The fact that the Balkan trouble spots would receive a thorough going-over was interesting enough. Even more intriguing was a new Soviet attitude toward the veto. When a Mexican proposal for membership on the commission came up for a vote, Herschel V. Johnson, US delegate and current chairman of the Security Council, counted eight hands in favor. But he also noticed that Gromyko's hand was down. Without calling for the negative votes, Johnson announced that the measure had been defeated because of Soviet disapproval.

Gromyko looked startled and shook his head. Johnson then hastily called

for the negative votes, counted those of Poland and the Netherlands (which have no veto power). He called for abstentions. The Soviet Union abstained. Taking his cue, Johnson announced that the proposal had carried.

During General Assembly discussions on the veto, Russia had argued that an abstention should be considered a veto. Gromyko reversed that position and has set a new precedent for Soviet action in the Security Council: fight for a position; if overruled, abstain rather than veto.

Obit

Georgia

For thousands of yere-ahs the niggah sat on the wealth of the world. Gold and diamonds and rubies and emeralds. And wha'd he do? Filed his teeth and ate his fellow man. And all this time the Caw-cas-yun race was a fightin' and a-dyin' and a-buildin' civilizations. Whenever the white man plants his feet, there he rules or finds his grave.

SO SAID Eugene Talmadge, who had planted his feet firmly in the red clay of Georgia. There he had ruled as a three-time Governor. Elected to a fourth term, he was to have ruled again. But, 24 days before his inauguration, Gene Talmadge found the grave which all men share.

Transport Bill

London

AFTER the keenest, most bitterly fought debate of the present Parliament, the House of Commons voted down a motion to reject the Transport Bill for the nationalization of Britain's railroads, road transport, inland waterways and docks. The opposition mustered 204 votes—the largest so far—against the government's 362. The Liberals, who previously supported the Labor Government on several nationalization measures, decided to part company, thus adding their small minority to swell the Tory total.

The Tories were egged on by eager lobbyists, who deluged the MP's with telegrams, and placarded trucks with stickers reading, "You'll be sorry if you nationalize this lorry." They fought hard to defend the compensation rights

of widows and orphans, erroneously described as the prime beneficiaries from rail dividends. However, it wasn't the widows, but the railway directors, who craned nervously over the rail of the visitors' gallery as the debate proceeded.

The astute Chancellor of the Exchequer, Dr. Hugh Dalton, wants to pay compensation at current stock-exchange quotation rates. That will save the Treasury millions of pounds, as rail shares have scarcely been big money-makers in the last few decades. Hence the Tory agitation. The *Tribune*, left-wing labor weekly, put the issue succinctly: "Conservatives now see the Transport Bill as a kind of Siegfried Line on which they can fight a delaying action. . . . Beyond the Transport Bill loom projects for nationalization of the steel industry and ownership of land. . . . It is one of the last layers before the Labor axe reaches the root of capital and conservatism."

Soak the Poor

Taxes

WITH THE fiscal year almost half over, the federal government got in the black last week by virtue of a flood of December quarterly tax payments. The surplus was small—only \$176 million out of \$16.5 billion—and wouldn't last long. But it was likely to swell the Republican clamor for a horizontal 20-percent cut in personal income taxes.

Some Republicans—for example, Senator Styles Bridges (N. H.), who will head the Appropriations Committee—have shied away from immediate tax-cutting, not because they do not like the idea but because they think the budget ought to be balanced first. They can now point to the Treasury's current statements—and to their own economy plans—and say that the budget is already balanced.

If the Republicans go through with their tax-reduction legislation, a mar with a family of four and an income of \$1 million a year will save \$167,700 a year in taxes. A man with a family of four and \$2,500 a year will save \$10. Under GOP schedules, the millionaire will actually pay less tax in 1947 than he paid in 1939.

Oh, Bother the Budget!

Inflation

THE ALARMING plight of a California corporation president barely making ends meet on \$45,000 a year earned page-one headlines in the *Wall Street Journal*. The case history of inflation, identified by the *Journal* only as "Mr. X," was described as a "hard order . . . typical of thousands of other corporation executives scattered over the land."

Mr. X, the *Journal* discovered, was having tough sledding with the family budget. Dinner parties, vacations at Lake Tahoe, a 14-room house, four servants and Mr. X's memberships in five separate clubs were eating up income as never before. After paying taxes of 20,000 a year, Mr. X complained: "I'm now living more frugally than at any time since I was married."

Household bills—including the wages of "a cook, governess, a second maid and a gardener"—were averaging 1,250 a month. "Social and entertainment expenses cost Mr. X around 4,000 a year. . . . His golfing club costs him another \$60 a month. . . . Mr. X belongs to five clubs. . . . Dues alone for these add up to \$1,300 a year. Instead of the two cars which once used to be in the X's garage, there's one now—a Cadillac."

Inflation was taking the family's clothes right off their backs. "I buy my suits four or five at a time. . . . I've paid my tailor \$125 a suit for years . . . now he wants \$200 a suit.

I just don't have it to spare." Mrs. X badly needed some new furs. "We decided . . . to wait until after Christmas when the stores cut prices," said Mr. X. "Today we've got to save a dollar wherever we can. . . . The only way to meet these costs is retrenchment."

On the Side

Congress

IT FELL to a tense and bitter man with hollow eyes and a drawn face to point the finger of shame at the grotesque figure of Senator Theodore Bilbo. Ed Terry was Bilbo's executive secretary and a former trusted member of the Mississippi gang. Ironically, it was Terry who last week told a Senate investigating committee the grimy details of Bilbo's private finances in public life.

All during Terry's testimony, the witness sat only nine feet away from Bilbo. Not once did his eyes stray over to the froglike Senator. Smoking nervously, Terry drawled these accusations into the microphone:

1. Bilbo "borrowed" \$3,000 from Abe Shushan, a former Huey Long lieutenant, and in return tried to get the Justice Department to go easy on Shushan.

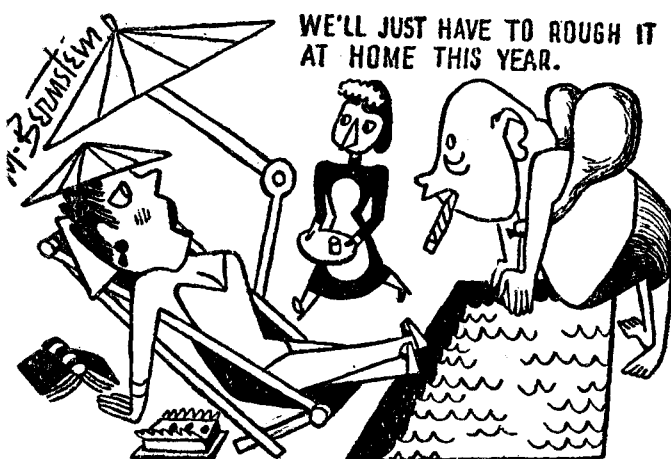
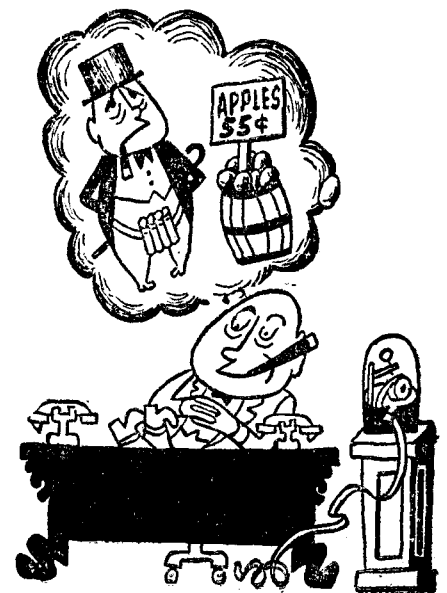
2. He took \$1,500 to get an elderly drug addict two grains of morphine a day.

3. He accepted money from his war-contractor friends for all manner of expenses—political campaigns, alimony payments, a Baptist parsonage never occupied, personal debts, farm losses of

\$48,000. He received such gifts as a Cadillac, furniture and the construction of a private lake near his plantation "Dream Houses." (Bilbo told the Senate War Investigating Committee that this was just "an old Southern custom.")

4. He took \$25,000 from war-contractor "Big Boy" Newton and blithely stuffed the bills under his pillow.

Through all the long days of hearings, white-haired Senator Homer Ferguson of Michigan pulled additional details out of uneasy and reluctant witnesses. One of the worst for Bilbo was "The Man" himself. His testimony was by turns impudent, sneering and pious, but without a trace of penitence. Accepting gifts? Sure, everyone did it in the South. These accusations had all been



MAKING ENDS MEET ON \$45,000 A YEAR

aired in the 1946 campaign, and the people of Mississippi had neglected him. So why should aliens stick their noses in?

Senator Ferguson was questioning Bilbo about various collections of "campaign contributions," and brought up \$1,000 taken from a New Orleans gambler. Bilbo said grumpily he didn't know all the details. But did he know the contributor was a gambler? The Mississippi Senator replied sharply, "Well, we got the money. I didn't care who he was." Another \$3,500 came from a contractor, how did he explain that? Bilbo said in his curious combination of a drawl and a lisp, "Ah'm a good collector." How did it happen that A. B. Friend, the Bilbo campaign manager, obtained so many good war contracts? The Senator explained, "The man who makes a good campaign manager will make good at almost anything else."

Even some Southern Democrats are now saying that they may vote to prevent Theodore Bilbo from returning to his seat in the Senate.

Sign of the Times

Texas
BUSINESS in tombstones is booming. Delegates to a Dallas convention of monument-builders reported that people are ordering markers for 20-year-old graves. They attributed the trend to postwar sentimentality.

Loyalty Check

Civil Liberties
THE Vanech Commission, appointed by President Truman to investigate the loyalty of government employees, is moving guardedly.

The six-man commission was created to head off a Republican drive against "subversive elements" in the government. It must devise dependable methods for testing the loyalty of more than two million government employees and draw up legislative recommendations before February 1.

Headed by stocky A. Devitt Vanech, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, the commission came out of its first (and, according to reports, only)



meeting with no staff appointed, no regularly scheduled meeting time or place. Vanech, who has been with the Justice Department since 1932, said the inter-agency commission did decide on one thing: that its six members were sworn to secrecy until the report was in the President's hands.

The report will cover charges made last summer by the House Civil Service Committee that "Communist tendencies" existed within the State Department and that others on the federal payroll were of "questioned loyalty."

Existing laws and regulations protecting the government from disloyal employees are already numerous. The Hatch Act allows any government agency to remove an employee who has membership in "a political organization which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional government." The General Appropriations Act, even stronger, stipulates that any person who himself advocates overthrow of the government may be removed. The Civil Service Commission, with its Loyalty Rating Board, has an elaborate system of investigating employees and applicants for administrative positions. The War and Navy Departments, under Public Law 808, can immediately release an employee of doubtful loyalty.

The Vanech Commission will decide how much stronger these laws to protect the government can be made with-

out infringing the right of individual civil servants to defend their own characters.

China Policy

Foreign Affair

PRESIDENT TRUMAN's statement on China filled a lot of newspaper space, but a proposal issued 10 hours earlier by Senator Murray (D, Mont.) and Senator-elect Flanders (R, Vt.) more nearly filled the bill.

The President took 3,500 words to admit that, despite General George C. Marshall's great effort, the present US policy had failed to bring peace and unity to China. He then said the same policy would be continued.

The Murray-Flanders statement actually was drawn up by Owen Lattimore one-time adviser to Chiang Kai-shek and highly respected student of Chinese affairs. It proposed a conference which would be presided over by Marshall and attended by Russian and British representatives, as well as those of all Chinese political parties, to attempt to find a way out of the present deadlock. Such a conference would absolve the US from charges of unilateral interference in Chinese affairs, the authors pointed out. Pressure from all of the Big Three nations on the Chinese factions to patch up their differences and form a coalition government seemed likely to be more effective than intervention by the US alone. But the proposal promised to make little headway with the Truman Administration.

Safety in Numbers

Georgia

AFEDERAL grand jury has recessed a three-week investigation into last July's mass lynching of two Negroes and their wives in Walton County. After examining 100 witnesses and considering FBI evidence from 2,500 others, the jury unanimously reported complete failure. It was unable to find a clue to the identity of a single member of the lynch mob. "The responsibility for solving the crime now rests with the citizens of that area who are withholding information," said a Justice Department official.

Washington Wire



Happy New Year?

CONGRESS meets next Friday. It plunges immediately into its big row over Bilbo. Nothing can be done until this is settled. It must first swear in new members, and Bilbo's name comes alphabetically in the first batch of four Senators. Maybe some way around the battle can be found. Otherwise three separate and distinct Truman messages will be postponed: one on the state of the Union, one on the Economic Council, and finally the budget message (in which Truman is expected to announce the first balanced budget in 16 years).

What happens to Bilbo is a toss-up. Even if he is thrown out it won't solve the unjust economic situation that makes Mississippi an American slum, and thus produces men like Bilbo. The GOP will fight Bilbo's seating, but a lot of them would like to hang Bilbo right around the Democrats' neck as a continuing national issue.

Bilbo wore only his upper dental plate in his Senate testimony, making him incomprehensible at times and making his wizened little face look more evilly batlike than ever. Doctors now think they have removed the malignant growth from his mouth.

LOOKING BACK over 1946, we include these Washington highlights:

Completion of demobilization: phase one.

Passage of the law streamlining Congress, potentially one of the great reforms of our time.

The Full Employment Act, a modest blossoming of planning in an unplanned society.

Transfer of atomic energy to civilian control.

Precipitate abandonment of wartime economic controls, starting an irreversible chain of strikes, strife and high prices.

Republican election victory, made bigger by Truman's own mistakes and probably meaning Dewey in 1948.

TURNING NOW to 1947 we peer into our clouded crystal ball with results not wholly discouraging. Things around the old UN look better—we have lived with the Russians another year. On the domestic front also we seem to be less pessimistic than most, particularly about strikes, and we guess living costs are coming down. One thing about strikes is, nobody knows better than the participants themselves how costly they are and in 1947 neither labor nor management wants strikes. For one thing, management can no longer charge off the cost of strikes to the US Treasury, in reconversion tax refunds. And a lot of workers are fed up with walkouts, too. Furthermore, we agree with Professor Sumner Slichter that there is apt to be a big drop in food and clothing prices soon.

The CIO-Nathan Report may have its flaws, but some of the counter-arguments have a fascinating speciousness of a new high order. Most of these insist that organized labor should, in resisting higher wage demands, show a degree of discipline and self-restraint, which the government didn't show in maintaining controls, or management in resisting price grabs. The responsibility, you see, is on labor. Labor has a patriotic duty. Labor should suffer in silence for a year or so, when, in all probability, the beneficent law of supply and demand will make everything all right. We don't mean to justify the Nathan Report, but this counter-argument will never win us.

THE FIRST REPORT of the Nourse Council of Economic Advisers is calm, detached and circumspect. It will be five years—maybe 10—before the council's real test comes, when the Big Boom starts to turn into the Big Bust. We guess the three-man agency knows

this and knows the present is not ripe. It contents itself with the guarded statement—"Government itself is now, and must to a somewhat greater extent in future, be an actual stimulative and guiding element in the economy." And the report adds that its own 1946 Act "assumes also something that is not as yet proved as fully as we might wish"—namely, that businessmen can make the new economy work. We thought we caught an ironic gleam in this artfully mild statement.

We searched back through *Conditions of Peace* by Professor E. H. Carr (1942), erstwhile editor of the staid *Times* of London, for his observation on prewar Europe, that "planned economy, which rests on the assumption that no natural harmony of interests exists and that interests must be harmonized by state action, became the practice, if not the theory, of every state [after World War I]." Well, America's fundamental assumption still is that a "natural harmony" does exist, and we are going to give the idea another fling. Private business had better do a good job. This, we imagine, is its last try.

BRICKER TURNED directly to Truman at the head table at the pretentious off-the-record Gridiron Club banquet and taunted him for his economic failure. Bricker probably meant to assume a light, frolicsome tone but he grated on the nerves of those who heard him, including even the assembled Republican moguls. Rival Ohio supporters of Taft rubbed their hands—"You see?" they said. Bricker, they feel, has begun the task of talking himself out of the GOP nomination.

Oddly enough, Taft himself failed to hit the right note in a speech before the club in the spring of 1940. It was a heavy, ponderous speech written by a stooge, and it put the audience to sleep. Taft sometimes blames his 1940 convention difficulties on that speech.

Washington

T. R. B.



The Bettmann Archives

The Time: Europe in the Eighteen-eighties

The Place: Where East Meets West

The Plot: Same as Now

A New Deal With Russia: II

What about Soviet expansion and "imperialism"? A New Republic survey of the facts behind the Soviet resurgence

RUSSIA, the world's biggest country, is growing bigger. Many Americans think she is growing too big. It is said that this growth will some day lead to collision with us.

The Russians have acquired almost 200,000 miles of territory as a result of the war. (All that we have acquired, in terms of territory, is about 850 square miles' worth of Japanese-mandated islands—and we haven't actually annexed them.) Off-hand, the Russians would seem to have done pretty well—or too well, depending on how you look at it. It is said that under the guise of "security" they have annexed large territories to which they have no right. It is said that they are reaching out imperially for new spheres of influence. (The Russians, for their part, answer that we Americans have been reaching out pretty far ourselves—trying to make ourselves the sole "trustees" of islands formerly held by Japan off the Asiatic coast.)

The issue appears to be one between bigger boundaries on one hand and

better bases on the other. Much of the mutual suspicion between Americans and Russians arises from it. If we are going to do anything toward removing that suspicion, we had better look into the reasons behind all this expansion. Let's leave American bigness aside awhile, and look at the new Soviet bigness. To what extent does this mean "imperialism"—and if it is imperialism, why so?

Ally or Enemy?

WHEN we start discussing what Russia ought or ought not to have, a good base from which to begin is the year 1918. In that March, the delegates of a distraught, defeated and revolutionary Russia were forced to submit at Brest-Litovsk to the German demand that the territories of Finland, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland and Bessarabia be ceded to the Central Powers.

The next year, when Germany in turn sued for peace, the Russians took it for granted that the Western Allies would recognize the sufferings they had undergone and return their lost territories to them. But they soon learned better. First of all, the victorious Western Allies agreed at Versailles that Russia's lost provinces were to remain under German occupation "for as long as the Allies considered this desirable." Then, fearing that Bolshevism might sweep over Europe, France and Britain proceeded to quarantine Russia by establishing a line of newly created small buffer states

stretching across Europe almost from the Arctic to the Black Sea. With the support of the Allies, Finland, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and Poland won their independence from Russia, while the province of Bessarabia was also detached and turned over to Rumania. Meanwhile, only the publication by the Bolsheviks of secret Allied wartime agreements prevented France and England from carrying out the terms under which the Ukraine was to come under the French sphere of influence, while the areas around the Caspian Sea, with the rich oil deposits of the Caucasus, were to come under British domination.

The United States had not sat in on this back-room diplomatic game. Our Secretary of State, Bainbridge Colby, took a different line when he declared that we "would regard with satisfaction a declaration by the allied and associated powers that the territorial integrity and the true boundaries of Russia shall be respected, these boundaries properly to include the whole of the former Russian Empire, with the exception of Finland proper, ethnic Poland and such territory as may by agreement form a part of the Armenian state." But this statement, made in 1920, had little effect upon France and Britain except to slow them down a while in recognizing the new states which they had helped carve out of Russian territory.

So, in the interest of historical truth, we may as well get this straight at the start: In the settlements following World War I, Russia not only was kept from sharing in the fruits of a victory which she had helped to bring about, but was treated by her allies almost as if she herself had been a defeated enemy.

Recouping Her Losses

FROM this let us jump to the results of World War II. As you look at the accompanying maps, you find that the Soviet Union has now rewon many of the territories she lost at Brest-Litovsk. That is to say, she has *partially* regained the position she occupied before engaging with the Western democracies in two wars against Germany and her confederates. What she has annexed both in Europe and Asia consists largely

This is the second of a series of six articles by the editors of the New Republic on the world's number-one problem of a Soviet-American settlement. The first, published in the issue of December 16, took up the subject of Russia's economic problems and our trade and rehabilitation policies toward them. Coming articles will survey other current areas of disagreement between Americans and Russians, with the object of proposing a common basis of understanding. —THE EDITORS

of areas over which her Czars held sway.

So much for geography. Now as to diplomacy. With the exception of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, Russia's annexation of land as a result of World War II has been undertaken with the complete approval of her allies. The incorporation of eastern Finland, Bessarabia and Bukovina, the Sakhalin and Kurile Islands by the Soviet Union was sanctioned by the Yalta agreement and by armistice agreements with Finland and Rumania, to which the United States or Great Britain were signatories. Russian annexation of the Carpatho-Ukraine, again, was done in agreement with Czechoslovakia. Her absorption of one-third of eastern Prussia was agreed to in principle by the United States and Great Britain shortly after the Potsdam Conference.

There remains the matter of Russia's absorption of the three Baltic territories of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. This, to be sure, lacked the approval of the United States and Britain. Yet the Russians claim that these territories histori-

cally belong to them. So we may as well look into history. What, in brief, is the background of all the borderlands which Russia claims as rightfully hers?

1. *Eastern Finland.* Under the terms of the 1944 Russo-Finnish armistice (which Britain also signed on behalf of the United Nations), Finland ceded to the Soviets an area of some 20,000 square miles, including the Karelian Isthmus and the Petsamo Province. In addition the Soviet Union won the right to fortify the Aaland Islands and leased valuable bases on the Porkkala Peninsula.

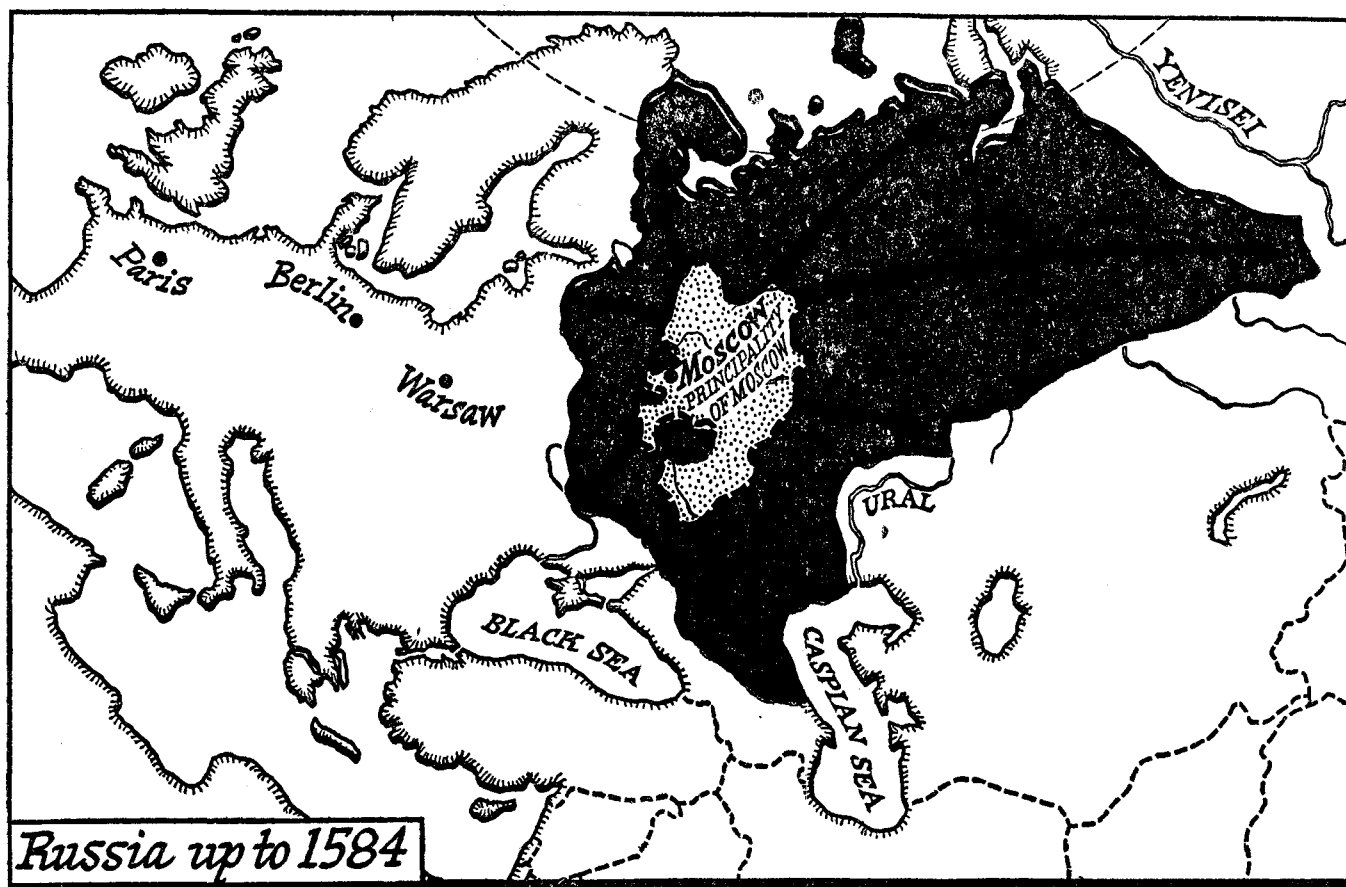
The Finnish Settlement

ALL this land had been an integral part of the Russian Empire for more than a century. The entire territory of Finland had been won as a result of the Russo-Finnish war of 1808-09, and then lost again as the Finnish autonomists broke away from a weakened Russia in 1917. The Soviet government not only recognized the independence of Fin-

land but also transferred to her the Russian province of Petsamo—which had never been a part of Finland.

Early in the Second World War, Russia's awareness of German designs on her caused her to demand strategic border areas back from Finland, in exchange for less strategic areas. The Finnish refusal to make this exchange resulted in the "winter war." The value of the territories Russia wanted was shown later when the Finns and Germans used Petsamo as a submarine base against Allied shipping carrying lend-lease supplies to Russia. From the bases established in Karelia the Axis was successful in cutting the strategic Leningrad-Murmansk railway. Control of the Gulf of Finland enabled the Nazis to bottle up the Soviet Baltic fleet and made the port of Leningrad useless.

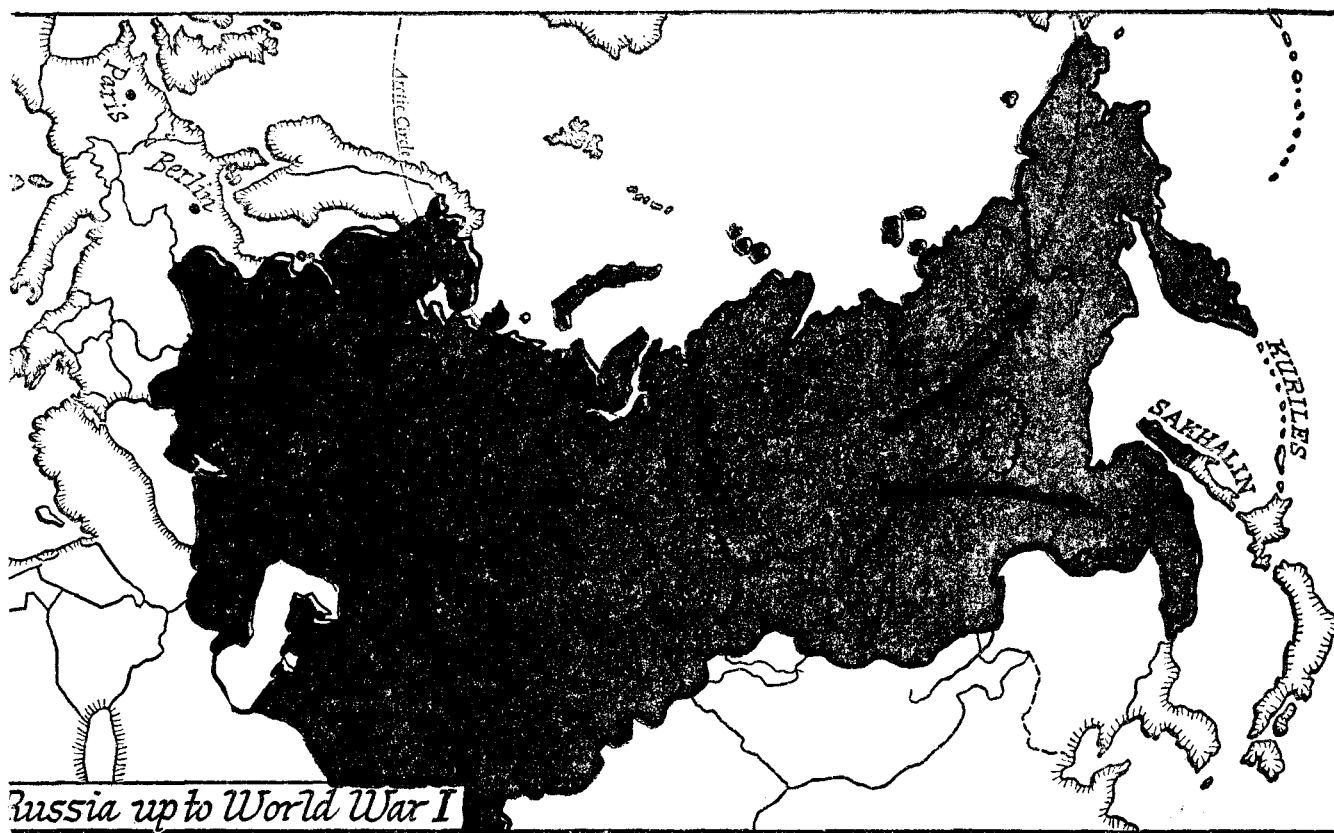
The original inhabitants of the Karelo-Finnish SSR are racially and linguistically related to the Finns, and there is no racial connection between them and the Great Russian population of Karelia. In terms of natural resources



Beginning from ancient Muscovy and beating off successive invasions of Tartars, Mongols, Swedes and the Order of Teutonic Knights, the Russians pushed outward in widening

circles. By the end of Ivan the Terrible's reign, they had extended their power halfway across Finland, into Estonia, Latvia, the Ukraine and almost all the way to the Caucasus.

New Republic map by H. O. A. J. J. J.



Czarist Russia expanded piecemeal in the West and in giant strides in the East, settling Kamchatka in the eighteenth century and setting up an imperial outpost at Vladivostok a

century later. The lower half of Sakhalin Island, which Russia had acquired in exchange for the Kurile Islands, was lost to Japan after the war of 1904-05.

the area is rich in lumber, peat, nickel and other minerals. Yet its greatest value to the Soviet lies not in its natural resources, but in its ice-free Arctic port of Petsamo and in the safe outlet which it provides through the Gulf of Finland.

2. *Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania.* The short-lived independence of these Baltic states was ended by the Russo-German non-aggression treaty of 1939, when the Soviets occupied Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. In anticipation of German aggression, the Russians signed a mutual-assistance pact with these countries. Under the terms of the pact Russia acquired rights of military garrison and the use of naval and air bases there. This led to the incorporation of these countries into the Soviet Union Republic (1940). With Russia's victory over the Axis in the Baltic Area in 1945, she was able to reestablish her sovereignty over Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania.

Before their brief period of independence, the three Baltic states had long been part of Russia. Peter the Great had annexed Latvia and Estonia from Sweden under the Treaty of Nystadt

(1721), while Catherine the Great had acquired Lithuania from Poland in 1795. The Lithuanians, the Estonians and the Latvians are non-Slavic people. The Latvians and Lithuanians belong to the Baltic branch of the Indo-European Group and the Estonians are a branch of the Finno-Ugrian Group. However, all three countries have a considerable Russian minority. During the period of Russian domination of the Baltic states, intensive Russification took place, bringing the native population closer to Russia in culture and religion.

Unjustified Annexation

THE basic industries of the three countries are agriculture, cattle breeding, paper and pulp. Except for lumber their natural resources are limited. The absorption of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania cannot be justified on racial or economic grounds. The historical basis for the action of Russia's allies after the First World War does not present a strong case for Russian annexation. Neither does Russia's right to this terri-

tory on the basis of the Russo-German non-aggression pact of 1939 justify Soviet action, since this treaty was signed with Germany at a time when the latter was already a common enemy of the Allied countries. In this instance, Soviet behavior is contrary to all the concepts embodied in the Atlantic Charter and the Declaration and Constitution of the United Nations.

3. *Eastern Poland.* In accordance with the agreement reached by the Big Three at Yalta, the Curzon Line (with its southern extension to East Galicia) was recognized as a permanent boundary between the Soviet Union and Poland. Thereby Russia reestablished her control over territory that had historically belonged to her.

In the sixteenth century, Poland had conquered a considerable part of western Russia. In the eighteenth century, the successive partitions of Poland gave most of it back to Russia. Then, under the Brest-Litovsk Treaty of 1918, eastern Poland was taken over by Germany. Next, following the defeat of Germany, revolutionary Russia tried to recapture

the area. Then the Allied Supreme Council tried to keep the Russians from penetrating into western Poland by proposing the Curzon Line. In 1920, Russia declared herself willing to accept that line as the permanent boundary between the two countries. The Poles would not accept this boundary, though, and instead threw their army against Russia. Since the Western Allies put their weight behind the Poles, Russia was forced to sign the Peace Treaty of Riga (1921), which enabled Poland to annex more than 60,000 square miles of Russian territory lying east of the proposed Curzon Line. Not until after the Russo-German non-aggression deal of 1939 was this territory returned to the Soviets. Now the Curzon Line has been recognized as the ethnic boundary between Poland and the Soviet Union, and the Ukrainian population of east Galicia has also been restored to the USSR.

More Annexations

IN TERMS of race, culture and language, the White Russians and the Ukrainians east of the Curzon Line are closely related to the Slavic people of the Soviet Union. For centuries they belonged to Russia and only Polish aggression temporarily separated them from the rest of Russia. Many invaders have used their territory as a path for conquest, and it is clearly of vital importance to the security of the Soviet Union. Russia's allies agreed that she should again incorporate this territory within her boundaries.

4. *East Prussia.* Shortly after the Potsdam Conference, it was agreed in principle that Russia annex the northeastern one-third of East Prussia, including the city of Königsberg. The remaining two-thirds of the province were given to Poland partially to compensate for territory taken from her east of the Curzon Line. Before the war the population of the Russian zone of East Prussia was predominantly German. Königsberg is of vital strategic and economic value to the Soviet Union: being an ice-free port it will provide an outlet for Soviet commerce and serve as a strategic base for her navy. This part of East Prussia never previously belonged to Russia, and the

only justification for Russia's annexation of it was her defeat of Germany.

5. *Carpatho-Ukraine.* By an agreement dated June, 1945, Russia acquired this area from Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia, in turn, had won it by peace treaty from Austria. During the Second World War, Hungary occupied and subsequently annexed it. With the fall of the Axis, the Soviet forces liberated it and incorporated it into the Ukrainian Republic. The prewar population of Carpathia was 725,000, out of which 500,000 were Ukrainians and the remaining 225,000 were equally divided between Hungarians and Jews. Like East Prussia, this area has never before been a part of Russia. It is of major importance to Soviet security because of its location between Hungary and Rumania and its nearness to the Soviet-Ukrainian Republic across the Carpathian passes.

6. *Bessarabia and Bukovina.* Along the Black Sea coast lies Bessarabia, whose incorporation into the Soviet Union was agreed to in 1944 by the United States and Britain. Russia had originally acquired the area from Turkey in 1812 and, except for a short interval, had held on to it until the end of World War I. But in 1920, after Rumanian troops occupied Bessarabia, the principal Allied Powers—but not the United States—recognized Rumanian sovereignty over it.

Bessarabia and Bukovina

AS FOR the neighboring province of Bukovina on the Russian side of the Carpathians, during the last three-quarters of a century it has passed successively from Turkey to Austria to Rumania to Russia, and then—during

the Axis invasion—to Hungary. But with the collapse of the Axis, it was attached to the Soviet Union under the terms of the armistice agreement.

Of the total prewar population 3.75 million in Bessarabia and Bukovina, the Ukrainians outnumbered all other groups. They were followed by Rumanians, Jews and Tartars. While there is no ethnographic relation between the Rumanians and the Slavs, the Rumanians in Bessarabia were considerably Russified during the period of Czarist rule. The incorporation of this region into the Soviet Union will be greatly beneficial to Bessarabia and Bukovina. The agricultural products will find an easy market in the Black Sea area through utilization of the Dniester River and Soviet railways, which were originally built as an economic link between Bessarabia and Odessa. Odessa will become a major point for the foreign trade of the provinces.

Russia's New Security

THE newly acquired areas are of vital importance to the security of the USSR. This was demonstrated when the Axis used Bessarabia and Bukovina as a jumping-off point in the invasion of the Ukraine and the Caucasus. Furthermore, the lower Danube provides an important strategic point on the Black Sea.

7. *Sakhalin Island and the Kuriles.* Under the terms of the Yalta Agreement, the heads of state of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union agreed that the southern part of Sakhalin should be returned to the Russians and that the Kurile Islands should be handed over to them. This was the price which we had to pay for Russian participation for a short time in the war against Japan. At the end of the war these areas were annexed by Russia.

Back in 1875, Russia had relinquished her previous claims to the Kuriles in favor of Japan in exchange for Japanese recognition of Russian sovereignty over the entire island of Sakhalin. But when Japan beat Russia in 1905, she took back the southern half of Sakhalin.

The combined population of southern Sakhalin and the Kuriles is about 420,000—almost all of it Japanese. Economically, southern Sakhalin is im-

What Russia Got Out of
World War II

	Square miles
Eastern Finland	20,260
Latvia	20,056
Estonia	18,353
Lithuania	24,058
Eastern Poland	68,290
Bessarabia and Bukovina	19,360
Carpatho-Ukraine	4,922
East Prussia	3,500
Southern Sakhalin	14,075
Kurile Islands	3,949

ant to the Soviet Union for its extensive resources of coal, oil, timber and fisheries. The resources of the Kuriles are limited to fishing grounds and fur-bearing animals. The strategic location of the islands is of vital importance to the Soviet Union, since they provide Russia with unobstructed access to the Pacific and protect the sea of Okhotsk from foreign aggression.

When you add up all these Russian annexations and reannexations, it becomes pretty clear that what the Soviets have mainly been doing is restoring their sovereignty over areas that had been lost.

Causes of Disagreement

THIS brings us to other areas which are the subject of major disagreement between the United States and Russia: the Danube and the Dardanelles.

With Russia's recovery of sovereignty over Bessarabia, she also acquired control of the Danube delta. Supported by Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, Russia thereupon contended that control of the Danube should be confined exclusively to the states that border on it. The United States and Britain, on the other hand, insisted upon internationalizing the Danube Basin, basing their argument on the fact that the Congress of Vienna in 1815 recognized that freedom of navigation on the Danube was of primary concern to the nations of Europe. This principle has been reaffirmed on several occasions. But the Russians have argued that if the Danube is to be recognized as an international river, we should apply the same theory to other rivers which flow through the territory of several countries, such as the Rhine, the Elbe, the St. Lawrence, and to such strategic waterways as Gibraltar, Suez, Panama and the Dardanelles.

When we come to the Dardanelles, the fact is inescapable that these straits at Russia's gateway have the same importance to Soviet security as the Panama Canal has to the security of the United States and as Gibraltar and the Suez Canal have to that of the British Empire. From the time of Catherine the Second, the question of control of the Straits has been a major subject of Russian foreign

policy. The rivalry between England, France and Russia for their control began at the time of the Napoleonic Wars and continues to the present.

Russia's policy in Napoleonic days was to preserve the weak Turkish power at the Straits and use its weakness to her own advantage. Then Britain came into the picture, reaching an agreement with Turkey for the exclusion of foreign warships from the Straits, which in effect made her almost as much a guardian of the Straits as Turkey herself. Meanwhile, as the result of another revolt inside Turkey, neighboring Russia in the 1830's established a virtual protectorate over that country. The principle that "so long as Turkey is at peace, no foreign warship is to be admitted to the Straits" was accepted by the powers of Europe, but the Russians secretly held out and got the Turks to grant free passage solely to the Czar's warships "in case of need."

In anticipation of Allied victory over Turkey in the First World War, a series of secret agreements were entered into by England, France, Italy and Russia. In accordance with the terms of these agreements Russia was to receive Constantinople and the Straits, with free-port rights reserved to Britain and France. In March, 1915, Great Britain, France and Russia signed an agreement by which, in case of victory, Russia was to be given complete control over the Bosphorus and one side of the Dardanelles, while France and England were to be given certain trade guarantees in the region of the Straits. Under the Sykes-Picot Agreement of May, 1916, Russia was to receive northeastern Asia Minor from Turkey. These secret agreements were never carried out because of the Russian Revolution, which led to Russia's withdrawal from the war.

Treaty Provisions

BY THE terms of the Peace Treaty of Lausanne (1923), an International Straits Commission was set up under the auspices of the League of Nations to ensure freedom of passage and navigation. The European and Asiatic shores of the Straits were demilitarized and the Straits were open to all commercial vessels of the world as well as warships

of any nation, with the reservation that no single power could send into the Black Sea a fleet greater than the largest Black Sea navy. Additional provisions regulated the admission of warships of other nations in time of war when Turkey is neutral or when Turkey is a belligerent.

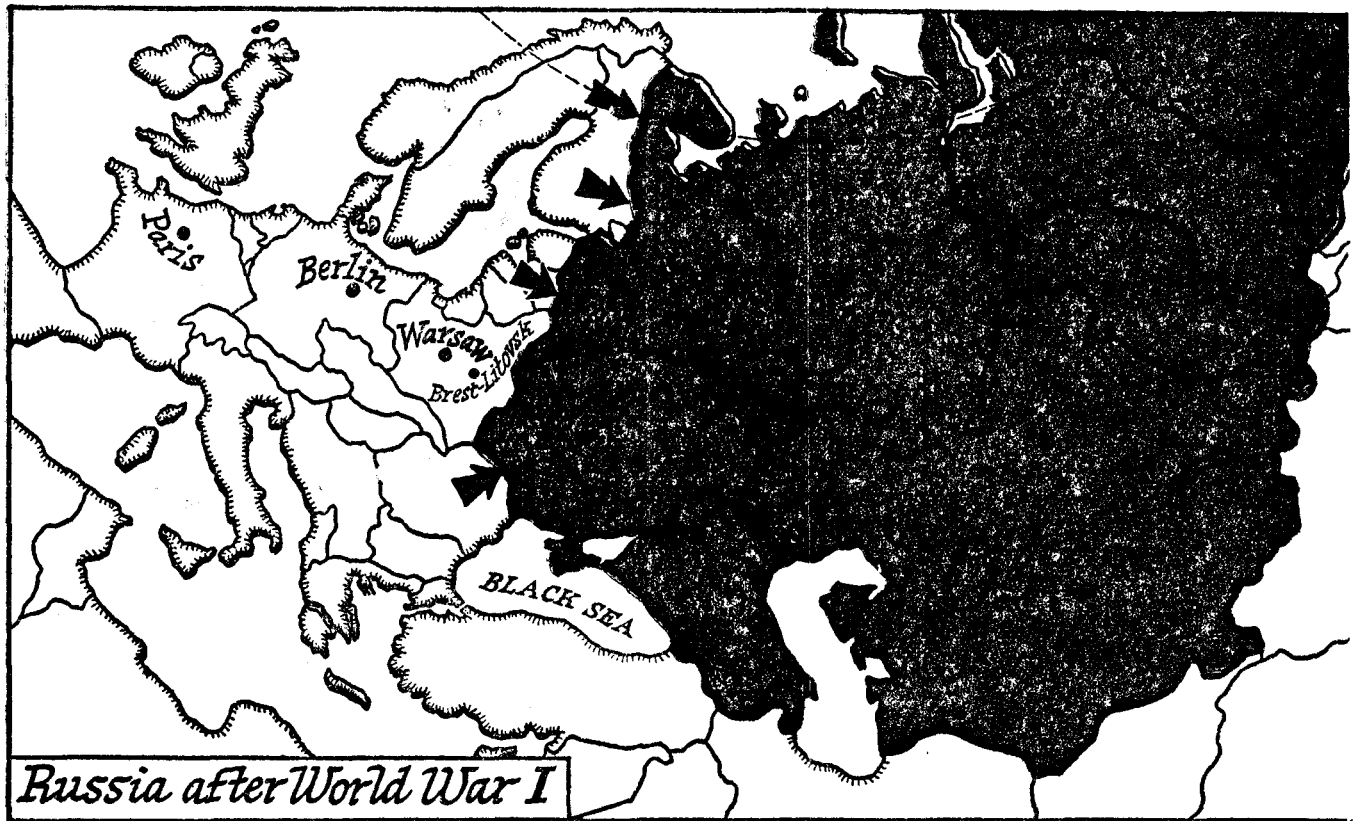
The Montreux Convention in 1936 considerably altered the Turkish position and enabled Turkey to regain all rights to fortify the zone. She also regained supervision of the Straits and gained full control in case of belligerency. Freedom of passage and navigation were provided for all vessels of all nations of the world when Turkey is at peace or a neutral. However, with respect to warships, certain restrictions were placed on the tonnage of non-Black Sea powers in the Straits at any one time. In case of war, whether or not Turkey is a belligerent, the Convention empowered her to close the Straits to any vessel at her discretion.

During the Berlin Conference the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union agreed that the Montreux Convention does not conform to present conditions and this question was to be subject to direct negotiation between each of the Big Three and the Turkish government. In accordance with this decision, the Soviet Union on August 7 and on September 24, 1946, sent notes to the Turkish government with a request to discuss revision of the Montreux Convention. In these two notes the Soviet Union alleged (1) that Turkey violated the Convention during the Second World War by allowing German ships to pass through the Straits, and (2) that the provisions of the Convention are not sufficient to provide the safety of the Soviet Union.

Russia made the following five proposals as bases for revision of the Convention:

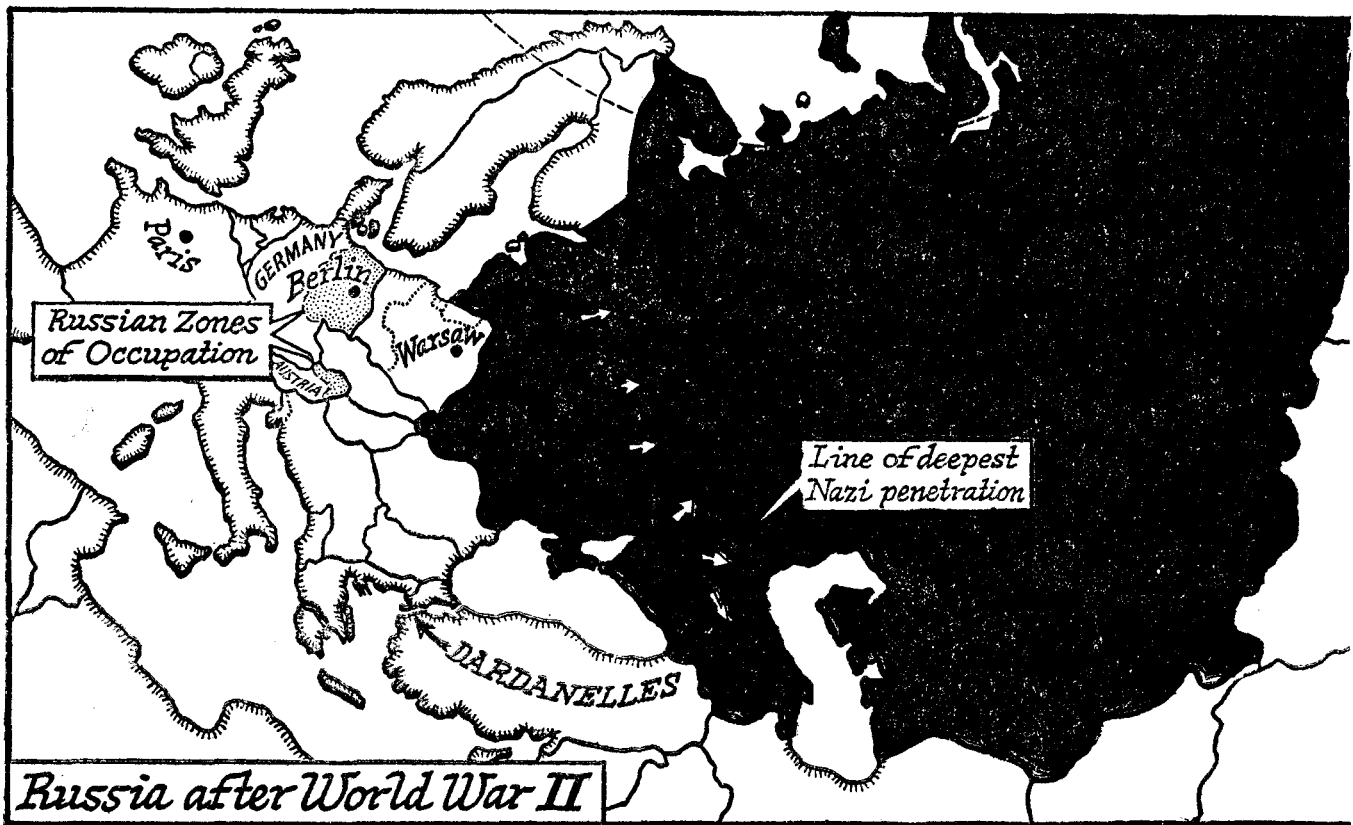
1. The Straits should be always open to the passage of merchant ships of all countries.
2. The Straits should be always open to the passage of warships of the Black Sea powers.
3. Passage through the Straits for warships not belonging to the Black Sea powers shall not be permitted except in cases especially provided for.

(Continued to page 907)



The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and the subsequent postwar settlements pushed Russia's western borders back to positions where they had been three or more centuries before. The

losses along the Baltic, in Poland, and to the south stripped Russia of the belt of land that had given her at least partial security from invasion.



The dotted areas along Russia's western frontier, running from north to south, are Karelia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, eastern Poland, the Carpatho-Ukraine, Bukovina and Bessa-

rabia—all of them either annexed or reincorporated as result of the war. In addition, the Russians picked up a slice of east Prussia and southern Sakhalin and the Kuriles.

New Republic maps by Harold Detje

(Continued from page 905)

4. The establishment of a regime of the Straits as the sole sea passage, leading from the Black Sea and to the Black Sea, should come under the competence of Turkey and other Black Sea powers.

5. Turkey and the Soviet Union, as the powers most interested and capable of guaranteeing freedom to commercial navigation and security in the Straits, shall organize joint means of defense of the Straits for the prevention of the utilization of the Straits by other countries for aims hostile to the Black Sea powers.

The Turkish and the United States Governments expressed their general agreement with the first three paragraphs as principles for discussion. However, the United States Government took exception to points four and five. The US claims that the control of the Straits is a matter of concern not only to the Black Sea powers but also to other powers, including the US.

We are officially against joint Russo-Turkish defense of the Straits, and want that job to be handled primarily by Turkey. Finally, we contend that in case the Straits should become the object of attack, action on the part of the Security Council of the UN will be required.

The stand which the Russians have taken on the Danube and the Dardanelles looks at first glance like a stand against internationalism as such. But one could also call it a stand against halfway or one-way internationalism. If we Americans show no disposition to permit international control over the Panama Canal, why should we demand such control over the Dardanelles? In such a nationalistic atmosphere of yielding little and demanding much, we cannot expect Russia to act differently from any other nation. The alternative is a firm, all-out internationalism under which all the world's vital straits and canals and international waterways are brought under joint supervision.

Under this internationalism, we would take up those principles which we are now invoking to resist Russia's claim to extend her control, and we would apply them to areas where we ourselves have already established our own control or where other countries have established theirs. If we have the courage to call for that, we can put an end to the present dickerings.

Play Safe But Be Suggestive

by S. V. R.

*Hollywood's Movie Code shows you
what to think and how to love, but
there's a revolt on against it*

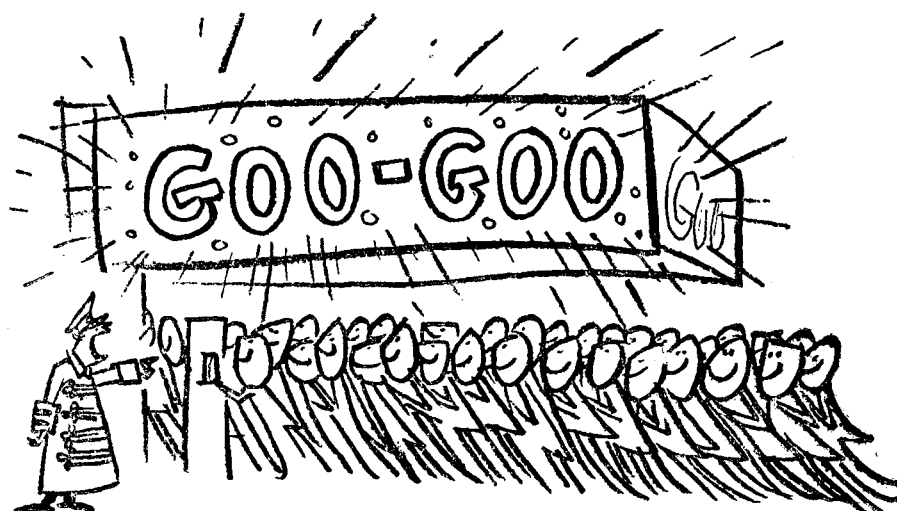
EVERY WEEK American movies are seen by an average audience of 95 million in the United States, and by a peacetime average audience of 150 million in the rest of the world. On the theory that the optic nerve is the short cut to the brain, American films attracting annually 12.25 billion customers to the box office face an important responsibility in their impact on public attitudes. This is the reason for the Production Code, administered since its inception in 1934 by Joseph I. Breen for the Motion Picture Association of America.

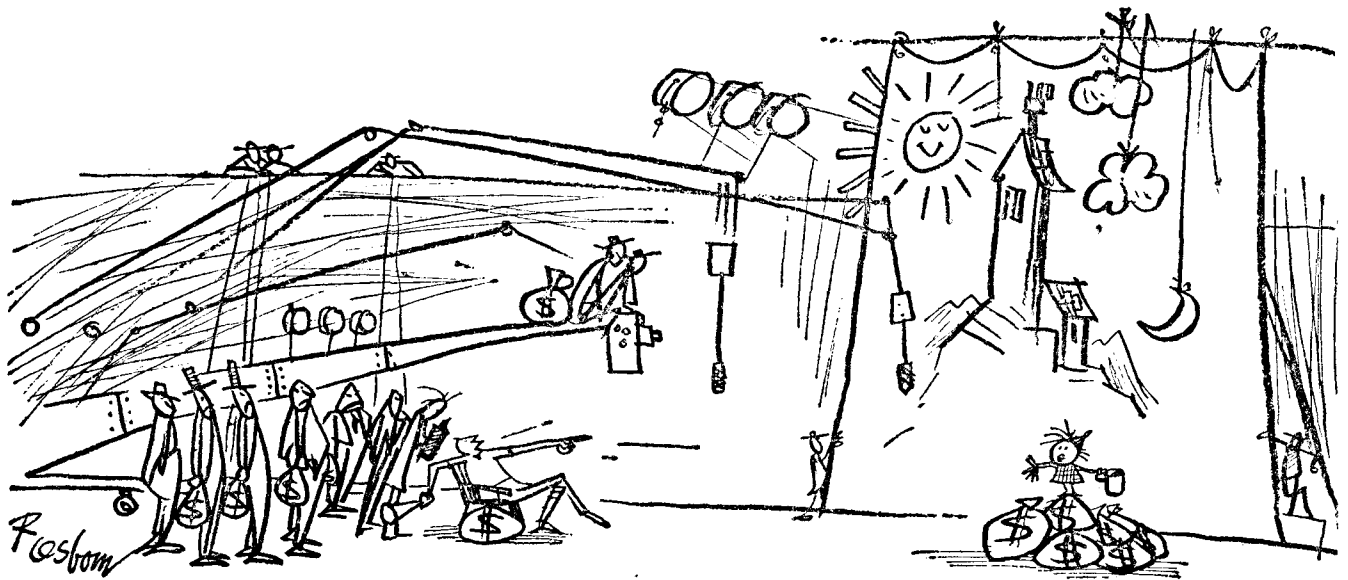
This code has never been satisfactory to the more honest and creative minds in the movie mills. Its capricious concepts and contradictions have always

been irksome, sometimes ridiculous. Its use as a weapon against the screen interpretation of even mildly liberal ideas has been resented by the people on whom the movie industry must depend for whatever hope of integrity it has. It has been repeatedly challenged by such writers, directors and producers as the late Sidney Howard, Alexander Korda, Joseph Mankiewicz and Walter Wanger, as well as by Howard Hughes.

Now the challenge is sharpening. Men who have been away in the wars are reestablishing themselves as movie makers in Hollywood. They have come back with a new maturity of outlook. They dislike more than ever the silliness and pruriency that characterize so much of Breen's administration of his code of motion-picture morals. But what gives a real edge to this revolt is the thought that the present banalities of

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the code may interfere with profits, especially the profits derived from leasing US films in foreign lands.

This threat to gross and net income is being perceived with increasing clarity. Even in their denatured form such pictures as "Blockade," "Juarez," "Three Comrades," "Citizen Kane" and others which were protested or edited by American film censors are box-office hits among foreign peoples who learned to dislike fascism and to appreciate even watered-down attacks upon it. There are reports that movie audiences abroad are snickering at American films meant to be serious and walking out on Hollywood comedies meant to be funny.

Then, too, there has been an excellent crop of foreign films shown in the United States in the last few months. Such films as "Henry V," "Brief Encounter," "The Seventh Veil," "Open City," have had long runs, made money and whetted audience appetites for more of this kind of film integrity.

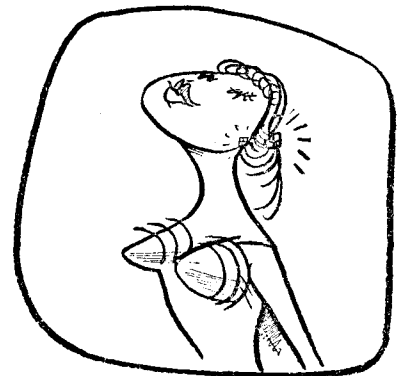
Breen Office Morals

HOLLYWOOD has also been making some good films lately. Frank Capra's "It's a Wonderful Life," Sidney Franklin's "The Yearling," William Wyler's "The Best Years of Our Lives"—these show that we can make successful pictures that depend on merit rather than on the meretricious. But Wyler's fine film, which seems headed for the Academy Award, ran into

trouble with the Breen office. Breen's moral sensibilities were aghast when the returned airman in the picture wanted to divorce his two-timing wife and marry the daughter of the sergeant. This sequence was held up as an offense against the sanctity of marriage, although it was natural, human and an inherent part of the story.

"On the other hand," says Wyler, "there was another part of the picture that really was offensive. It was developed in a way that made it too sexy and suggestive, and out of key with the rest of the picture. I cut it out after the first preview. But the Breen office made no objection to that scene, either in the script or after seeing the picture. I realize there must be some kind of control over irresponsible producers. But these confusions and contradictions must be eliminated, and the control raised to a more intelligent level, if the standards of American movie making are going to improve."

Wyler, who is a very important person in Hollywood just now, has plenty of support for his attitude concerning the Breen office. Hypocrisy is the most common charge against the administration of the Production Code. To producers who follow the letter of his regulations, Breen allows the widest latitude in evading its avowed intent. They turn out films that make American movies an international byword for suggestive sexiness. The trick is simple. It was explained recently by *The Screen*



You Can't Say That

The screen adaptation of "Captain from Castile" has presented a problem because the major villain in the novel, Father De Lora, is a cruel and corrupt priest of the Spanish Inquisition. . . . According to the Rev. John J. Devlin, Hollywood representative of the Legion of Decency, the studio was warned . . . that it was not acceptable to the [Roman Catholic] Church. "The treatment of the inquisition has [now] been toned down very much," Father Devlin explained. "Father De Lora appears very briefly and is no longer shown to be cruel. A bribe which the inquisitor took in the novel is explained as an outright gift in the scenario."—*Hollywood dispatch to the New York Times, December 15, 1946.*

—Or Can You?

"The screen must be free to portray faithfully and to explore intelligently the whole realm of human knowledge and activity. It must be free from repression and it must be free from reprisal. It must be free from propaganda. Only a free screen truly reflects free institutions and the lives of free people. The screen must be free as the free press, free radio, freedom of thought, action, expression and religion. Vest the screen with freedom's armor so it can truly battle for free people and institutions."—*Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association, in the New York Times, same day, adjoining column.*

Writer, official publication of the Screen Writers' Guild. The Code forbids the showing of illicit love on the screen. But in picture after picture, after 118 minutes of illicit love scenes, it develops in the final two minutes that the couple has been secretly married all the time, or the divorce is not legal. There are many variations of this trick, and they all get by the Breen office.

Another charge against the Breen code of screen morals concerns its racist point of view. According to the Code, miscegenation must not be shown in films, even within the bonds of matrimony. This manifestation of the Nuremberg mentality has created a determined protest from American minority and liberal groups, and from foreign lands mystified by such a rule in the homeland of democracy and equality.

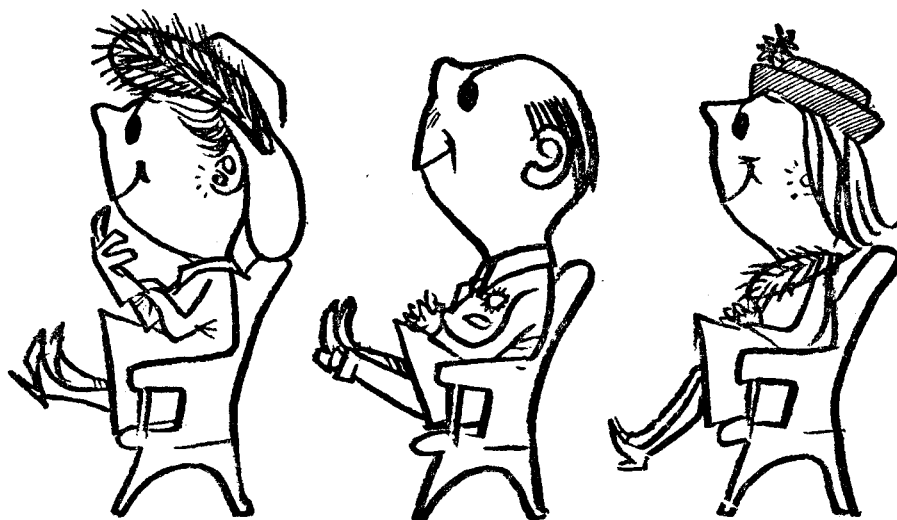
The revolt against the Breen office

is cumulative. With such men as Wyler taking a militant stand, and with ridicule and protest coming from the important foreign market, the present Production Code dam is certain to break. The break may come soon. American film companies are mushrooming their expansion abroad. MGM recently announced that foreign exhibition, which now accounts for 40 percent of its total gross, will soon account for 50 percent. And foreign resentment against Breen and his code is rapidly piling up. Breen did not help his cause when he went to England last fall and suggested that British producers submit their scripts to him before going into production. To this the distinguished English scholar C. E. M. Joad replied (as quoted by the United Press), "Every young girl in this country who runs off with her lover or goes to bed with her

boy friend justifies herself by referring to an example on the American screen. American films have set a new low standard in the world for portrayals of brutality, and yet may not use the words 'damn' and 'bastard.' Does nobody in America ever swear and are there no illegitimate children? I find myself tempted to ask Americans who and what they are that they should set themselves up as arbiters of manners and morals."

Profits v. Hypocrisy

BUT it is going to take a lot of pressure to crack this Breen dam. It has behind it powerful clerical forces, and even more powerful business pressures that are determined to maintain a close ideological control over screen content through the agency of the Breen office and its parallel organization, the Legion of Decency. The big money that controls the movies is quite aware of the pervasive influence of the screen, and of the importance of reaching more than 12 billion customers a year with film fare favorable to big-money interests. It wants films that will either build up its power, or else use specialized techniques of slickness and glamor to induce people to escape from their problems into a carefully contrived never-never land of fairy tales. But it also wants profits, and if theories of film behavior conflict too stubbornly with profits, it is not likely that the hypocrisies and confusions of the Breen office will be thrown overboard.



Henry Wallace's Forum

Where We Stand on Labor

THE NEW REPUBLIC under my editorship will continue its strong support of labor. We shall do all we can to convert businessmen and farmers to our point of view. We know that, until industry wholeheartedly and enthusiastically accepts labor's general attitude with regard to collective bargaining, there will be industrial warfare. On this issue we are with organized labor first, last and all the time. No progressive party or magazine can fight labor on this point and live. If the Democratic Party fights against labor, it will sign its death warrant.

I shall criticize labor just as I shall criticize industry when I think either one of them is hurting itself or the nation by unwise methods. My object at all times will be to find a legitimate basis for a sound and enduring industrial peace. In the long run, industrial peace is as important to the common man as international peace.

To attain industrial peace we must first of all pay a spiritual price. In our collective bargaining, both industry and labor must give up the law of the jungle. The Machiavellian doctrine of deceit and force inevitably leads to war no matter whether it is applied to industry or to international affairs. The spiritual price of industrial peace is tolerance and willingness to look at the problem both from the point of view of the other fellow and the general welfare. No matter what our nominal faith may be, we can all believe in the religion of the general welfare and the Golden Rule. We can all of us join in setting up certain standards of industrial decency which no one will violate. Such standards can never be enforced by a court or a policeman. But this can be made the rule of the land by educated public opinion.

Today the labor situation is being handled in such a way as to plunge the country headlong toward American fascism. It is true that there have been nearly ten times as many hours lost by strikes in 1946 as in the normal year, but by constant hammering, over the air and through the press, these strikes have been made to seem much more catastrophic than they really were. Almost no one mentions that in the year 1946 labor lost in strikes only two hours out of each one hundred which could have been worked. No one calls attention to the fact that in the depression of the thirties ten times as many hours of labor were lost annually by unemployment as were lost by strikes in 1946.

The acute form of the present crisis was made certain first, when the executive branch of the government deliberately took off many controls immediately after V-Day, and second, when Congress, under the leadership of Taft and Wherry, completed the job.

Only one good thing came out of the Lewis-Krug coal affair—there is certainty of coal for a few months.

The Supreme Court decision, when it comes, will decide only on whether Lewis acted in contempt of federal-court judge. It will not deal with the economic justice of the miners' claims.

The labor situation is dangerous because irreconcilable forces will be moving more vigorously in 1947 than ever before. The rapid advance in the cost of living will force many labor leaders to call strikes to maintain the purchasing power of take-home pay. These leaders will be morally certain of the justice of their cause. At the same time, the many millions of unorganized, fixed-income workers and farmers think that the continual procession of strikes, higher wages and higher prices is hurting them more than anyone else. Many of them have seen the purchasing power of their income cut by one-third and as they look to the future they expect a possible cut of one-half. For a long time they have been out of patience with organized labor and now they are willing to see the government use strong-arm methods.

I HAVE not been too much worried about the fascist sentiments expressed from time to time by certain representatives of American industry. The danger comes when the mild-mannered mothers of progressive American boys join with the white-collar workers, the farmer and unorganized labor in saying, "Had enough." They mean they have had enough strikes and they think something ought to be done. What makes it all so serious is that these fine middle-class people have not thought the problem through. Lacking a program of their own, they are ready to follow the first plausible fellow who promises them security and freedom from strikes.

Personally, for the sake of labor, I hope that the coal strike is the last big strike in the key industries, at least until the inflation has ended. I am in favor of higher wages and larger payrolls as the chief guarantee of an expanding market for the flood of goods which our

industry can produce. But when the tail end of an inflation period has taken millions of fixed-income families out of the market, it may be bad economics and bad politics to stage big strikes in key industries, unless it can be demonstrated that the profits in the particular industry are high and the purchasing power of wages in that industry has been substantially reduced since the last contract was signed. Because of the public temper, it seems to me the part of wisdom for labor and industry to do everything possible to avoid serious strikes in 1947.

The CIO says that the key to prosperity is maintaining the purchasing power of labor. That is usually true, but if this is done in a way which reduces production, the result will be a depression after a short period of inflation. Therefore I would urge the President's Economic Advisory Council to do some hard, careful work developing a sound program of maximum employment which will appeal to both agriculture and labor.

MY IMMEDIATE program for labor centers around the idea of a cost-of-living bonus. Wherever possible, such a bonus should be added to a guaranteed minimum annual wage. If the cost of living goes down, the bonus should go down, except in those industries where profits have remained high because of improved efficiency. Labor for its own sake should be concerned about the danger of the employer operating at a loss, especially in one-industry towns. Labor should also be concerned with the danger of the employer pricing himself out of the market and thus causing unemployment.

If there is to be legislation, I would suggest, first, a carefully worked-out program for fact-finding; second, a mechanism for voluntary arbitration; and third, a labor court operating under the supervision of the President's Economic Advisory Council and dealing only with those disputes in key industries which it felt were of supreme interest to the general welfare.

In all labor disputes it is necessary first to get the facts from both labor and industry as to prices, wages, profits and working conditions in relation to the present and immediate future prosperity of the country. There should be a permanent small Office of Fact Finding set up under the supervision of the Secretaries of Commerce and Labor. To find the facts in any given dispute the President should appoint a special committee of three, representing labor, management and the public. Such a committee should have the power to subpoena all relevant papers, information and witnesses. During the first years it should deal only with disputes in key industries.

~~A mechanism for voluntary arbitration should be available after the facts have been certified to by the fact-finding committee.~~

If labor and management cannot agree to submit the facts to voluntary arbitration, then either party, in case

the dispute is in a key industry, might within 15 days appeal to the labor court. The labor court might refuse to hear the case if it felt that the general welfare was not sufficiently involved.

Compulsory arbitration in industries under private ownership and operation is impossible in a democratic country. It is also impractical; you cannot mine coal with bayonets, or operate trains or telephone exchanges. What we need is widespread recognition by the public, the press and, most of all, by the employers, that collective bargaining is here to stay and that voluntary arbitration of disputes is an essential part of that process.

If, in spite of everything that can be done in the way of fact-finding, conciliation and voluntary arbitration, a strike takes place in one of the little handful of industries which are essential to the continued life of the nation, that industry should be taken over and operated by the government until a settlement can be reached. During this period of operation there should be no profits to the owners, in order to avoid the situation we have seen in the past where the government has simply acted as a stooge for the employers, who have hidden behind the pressure created by public indignation against the strikers and let the government drive a harder bargain with the workers than is fair or just. When the government acts, let it act truly as the representative of all the people.

IF EXPERIENCE proves, by repeated strikes in such an industry, that the welfare of the whole country is damaged to an unendurable degree by continued private ownership and operation, I feel we must consider public ownership and operation. In such a case the workers in that industry would, like other federal employees, give up the right to the ultimate resort to the weapon of force, in the form of a strike. In return they would receive special benefits as federal employees: wages whose fairness would be a matter of high public concern; special provisions in the form of hours and conditions of work; and old-age pensions.

Everyone is talking about the depression of 1947-48. No one knows for certain whether or when there is going to be one. All they know is that there has always been a depression after great wars when the inflation suddenly came to an end. There will certainly be a most serious depression after this war unless management and labor learn to understand each other. This is as important as Russia and the US understanding each other. At the UN Assembly meeting in December a formula was drawn up for disarmament which satisfied both Russia and the US. Surely we can find a formula for labor peace if we can get concessions from the extremists on both sides. The measure of our success will be the reduction in hours of strike time lost in key industries in 1947 as compared with 1946.

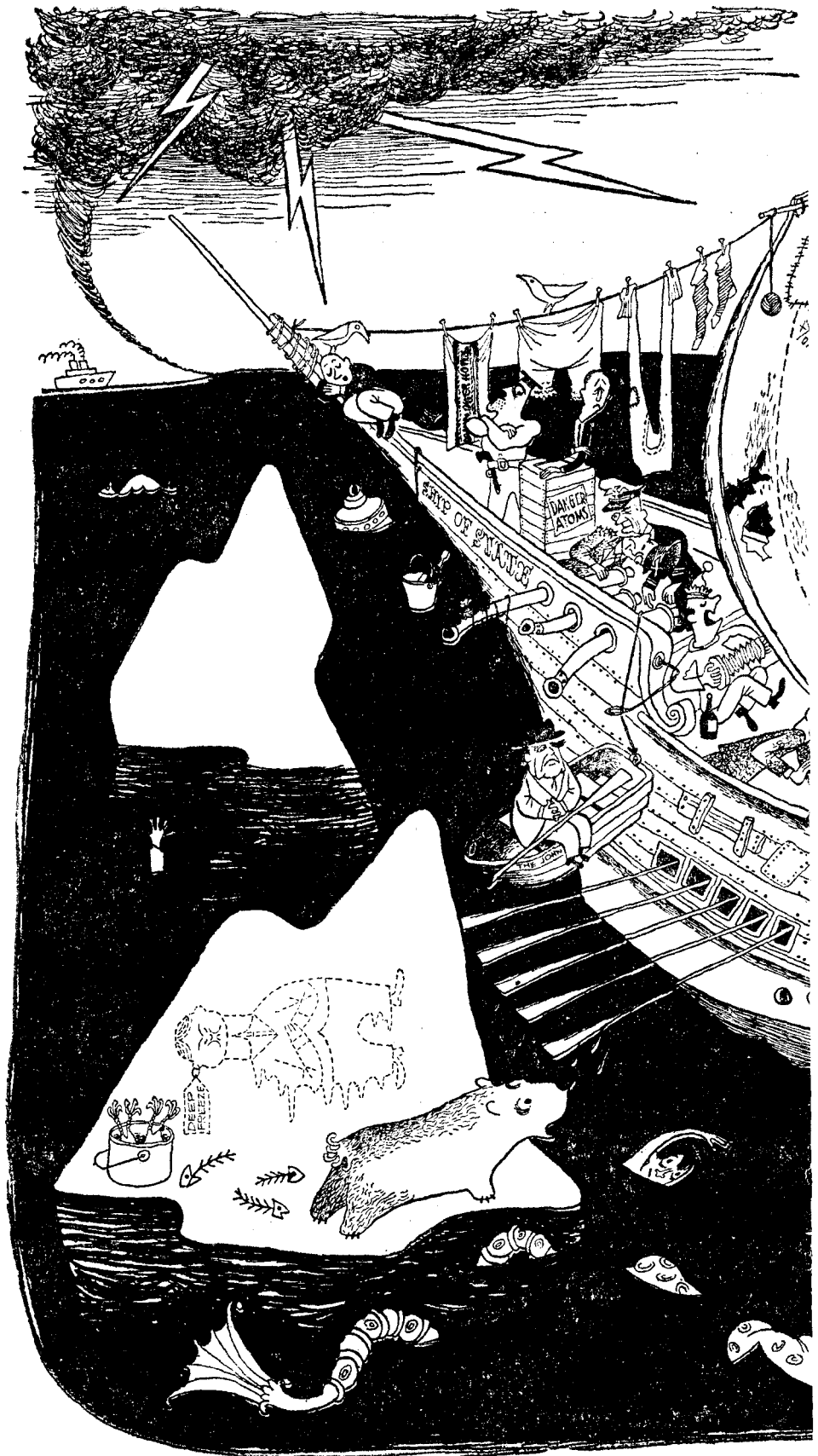
Ye Log of Ye Ship of State

UP BETIMES and about, being shaved by a barber, and I did observe most wond'rous things on our Vessel. Due to what I know not, our gallant Captain had Retir'd to the Stern, his place at the Wheel being taken by divers Personages who did so wrench it as to make a steady Course improbable and indeed impossible. I also observ'd, that our Sail blew contrary to the direction of the Wind, while some Private passengers did lower the anchor to halt our Motion altogether. Others dispos'd of a Body, which caused some below decks to sicken and Vomit in an alarming manner.

I then espied to Starboard poor wretches drifting on a Raft, who prayed succour, but Sir George Allen, the Mate, would not take them aboard, but averted his eyes and from the Crow's Nest looked to Port, whereupon Sir Clark Clifford, who affects second Sight and other dark Powers, did likewise with a keen and Penetrating Stare.

I did wonder upon seeing a gentleman Trader writing figures on our patched sails, but saw, that he being pressed for Paper, did balance the budget thereon, which made a mighty pretty sight; but I remark'd, that some person did not call our Captain to Assemble his Crew in an Orderly Manner, for we Drifted perilously close to an Iceberg and upon the Horizon the sky darked with a most ferocious Storm. All this did wrack my poor addled pate with Chagrin to see such Wantonness, and I resolv'd, that my small Son could perform such a task with greater Alacrity and Direction, and gave up Thanks that we were not already Wreck'd for want of such.

*Given under
ye hand of
Sam'l Weppy's*





Should We Have A Third Party?

By Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia

II. *A Leading Democrat Says "No; Bore from Within"*

MANY American liberals, sincerely concerned both with the unfortunate results of the 1946 congressional elections and the lack of cohesion within the two major political parties, are engaging once again in the fantasy of creating a new liberal party.

Perhaps they see a nucleus for such a party in the 14 million American voters who refused to participate in the 1946 elections. Perhaps they have answered, to themselves at any rate, the practical objections to the formation of a new party: for example, the technical and legal difficulties. Nevertheless, they are not genuinely realistic in their viewpoint; they are engaging in an escapist dream.

The practical solution for liberal voters is to enter actively into the Democratic Party, obtain control of that party and give it the direction it needs to obtain victory at the polls, a real working majority in Congress and a program for the nation.

Perhaps I am ill chosen to present such an argument. When I recently wrote a book about the American problem with emphasis upon the need for a decentralized economy, I acknowledged that I was a politician by profession and the product of a middle-

class Georgia town that possessed a courthouse square, a Confederate monument, a few cotton mills and some miles of tidy streets with neat homes and stores.

I admit, too, that in a good many campaign speeches I have relentlessly rapped Republican rottenness and rapacity and contrasted it with the doubtlessly demonstrable decency, devotion, decorum and dauntlessness of deserving Democrats. Alliteratively and otherwise, I have engaged in a fair amount of what the late Wendell Willkie called "campaign oratory." I consider it harmless, as did he; American voters like a show and American voters are not so naïve as many liberals seem to think.

But certain pressing questions must be put to those who wish to organize a third party along "liberal" lines. The first of these is: Where will they find their members—and where will they find their leadership?

They will find it impossible to rely solely upon the 14 million American voters who did not choose to vote in 1946. The American political system does not provide for a compulsory choice at the polls and these voters exercised their right to refuse to choose between candidates when they did not favor either batch. However, a very large percentage of this 14 million also took no part in the primaries. Had they done so, they would perhaps have had some choice to express in the November elections.

Besides the 14 million who did not vote, a new liberal party could draw

its members only from the few Republicans who, because of the regional hegemony of that party, stay nominally within its ranks in order to exercise some local power, and from those Democrats who have stayed within the Democratic Party in an effort to make the party of Jefferson conform to the ideas of Jefferson.

Thus the leadership of a new party could come only from a handful of dissident Republicans, whose unhappiness I shall examine briefly, and from those already battling for liberalism within the Democratic ranks.

Of Republicans now holding federal office, only three can be described as liberals. Senator Aiken is one of these; he is not a party man, except by the accident of living in Vermont, which, like South Carolina, is a single-party state as an aftermath of the unpleasantness of the sixties. Senator Morse, one of the ablest public servants in America, is destroying his enormous potential usefulness by turning himself into the gadfly of both parties, venting his natural anger against the irrationality of the 1946 political pattern. Former Representative Charles M. La Follette, of Indiana, like Senator Aiken, is neither a party man nor so regarded. In effect, all three of these liberals have been read out of the Republican Party—and properly so.

GOP "Liberalism"

AS FOR the "liberal wing" of the Republican Party, which seems to be built around the Ball-Stassen machine in Minnesota, that is another thing. It stems from no true liberalism, but from the dubious "progressivism" of the period of 1904-12, when Indiana's Senator Albert J. Beveridge could turn his undoubted oratorical prowess and keen casuistry to a defense of the horrors perpetrated in the Philippines and into a plea for an imperialism proclaimed as the manifest destiny of this nation.

A new liberal party would get few followers and almost no leaders from Republican ranks. It could win leadership only by asking the liberal Democrats to secede from a party that they have controlled in every year of its vic-

*Last week the New Republic published a call for the formation of a new progressive party, written by Harry W. Schacter, a leading Kentucky businessman. This is Governor Arnall's reply to it. Governor Arnall's over-all views on American needs today are set forth in his book, *The Shore Dimly Seen*, published by Lippincott in November.*

tory since 1874's congressional elections. Only those who lacked a sense of realism or who were seeking transient notoriety would respond to such a call.

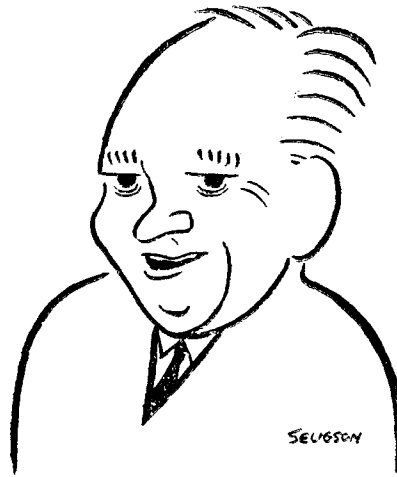
The history of third-party movements since the Civil War is interesting. Excluding the liberal Republican-Democratic coalition of 1872, and disregarding the serious and sincere efforts of the Socialists to found a nationwide organization, there have been just three serious attempts to establish another political party in the country.

There was the Populist effort in 1891, which broke down because there was no fundamental agreement between the depressed agrarians of the Middle West and those of the South. There was the La Follette campaign of 1924, which was an effort to coalesce various groups into a popular front against Coolidge and Davis. Then there was the Bull Moose episode of 1912, when sundry Republican politicians, including a half-score state bosses, some dissatisfied progressives, a magnificent public speaker and the House of Morgan held a convention and announced that Armageddon was here.

That is not a cynical view. The Bull Moose rebellion advanced the cause of liberalism, if only by assuring victory to a liberal Democrat. But do the liberals of 1946 who want to form their own party, plan to find an equivalent of the Morgan partner George W. Perkins to angel their efforts? If they don't, where will they get the money?

Reaction's Reaction

BUT there is an even more fundamental objection to a third party. The President is not dependent on Congress for tenure, so that we need not fear executive impotence—the result of a multi-party system in prewar France—but the menace of executive domination of the country would be acute. Today's gravest threat to freedom in America lies in the absence of definite party policies, liberal or conservative; but a new political party might bring about a greater threat—namely, that of a union between reaction and those who want to erect a military republic to replace the civilian democracy that we have.



ELLIS ARNALL

The Democratic Party is the natural vehicle for liberals. It has had a liberal tradition since 1796, a full century and a half. It is the oldest political party in the world. Except in 1856-60, it has never held power when it was farther to the Right than dead center, and it was dead center only in 1844, 1852 and 1892. The Democratic Party wins only when it represents the liberal elements in the country. When there is a choice between a Republican and a conservative Democrat, enough independents stay home to give the Republicans a victory.

The Democratic Party is the only national party, in the sense that it is the only party with a strong organization in every state and the only party—except the Socialist—that has pretended to be nationwide since 1900. It seems foolish therefore to junk it when a few repairs would put it into running condition again. Far from being bankrupt, it is now represented by 23 state Governors and 45 United States Senators.

What appeals to me personally about the Democratic Party is something that is often attacked. That is the absence of agreement among Democrats. Of course, there are men in the party who would like to "improve" it by openly joining with Clare Hoffman, Hamilton Fish, Joe Martin and the other responsible Republican leaders of the nation; but they are actually few in number.

But when there is agreement between members of the Democratic Party, it is based on belief, not on methods. It would take too much space to explain why the late Carter Glass (who wanted

to make haste slowly) and Hugo Black (who believes that it is later than you think) and the late Franklin D. Roosevelt (with his marvelous gift for improvisation) could all be good Democrats and honest party members. It can only be pointed out that this always has been true; Andrew Jackson, John Forsyth and Hugh White were all good party men at the same time; and, earlier, so were Thomas Jefferson, Isaac Hill, Sam Adams and John Randolph of Roanoke. Democrats always disagree on methods, and sometimes the conservatives triumph temporarily because of the disagreement.

What America Needs

AMERICA does not need a new party. America's need on the political front is twofold:

First, the need is for liberals to fight inside the Democratic Party for dominance, and to win that fight. Second, there is need for the establishment of a responsible conservative party, built around such men as Representative James W. Wadsworth of New York, Governor Warren of California, Mr. Justice Burton and Senator Taft. The present disorganized, amorphous hodgepodge that is called the Republican Party needs reorganization desperately, lest the Democratic Party temporarily lose its momentum.

Liberals who think of a third party, with the inevitable yielding of power to the strange coalition that bears the Republican label today, might consider how the country would fare in the hands of such men as Senator-elect Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin, who wants to use violent methods in order to solve labor disputes, and Representative John Taber of New York, whose knowledge of taxation and public government require no comment.

The Democratic Party has an organization, without which you can't win an election. It has a tradition, without which the public would feel distrustful. It has a history of many years of usefulness under Jefferson, Jackson, Wilson, Cleveland and Roosevelt—and this is not to be tossed into the discard in favor of a new model that is not yet even on the engineer's drafting board.

The Neatest Trick Of the Year

by Bryce Oliver

Remember that "democratic" revolution in Bolivia? It turned into a tin baron's plot—and now it's to be "legal"

MOST South American revolutions aren't anything to get excited about, but the recent one in Bolivia was—so we are told—different. Our press and radio hailed it as a triumph for liberal democracy. And, unless something unforeseen happens in the next few days, the highly restricted electorate of the Bolivian republic will march to the polls on January 4 and duly "legitimize" the new, revolutionary regime.

The revolt that shattered the peace of the Andes last July was directed at the person of the latest Bolivian dictator, Gualberto Villaroel, whose bullet-riddled body was dragged from the Government Palace and hanged to a lamppost on the Plaza Murillo in La Paz. Crowds that were described as consisting of "students, workers and professors" led the uprising, and their slogan was "democracy." Our State Department accepted the revolt at face value and hurried to obtain Pan American recognition for the insurgent Bolivian government. The New York Times added its blessing, commenting editorially on July 28 that "the signs point to a decided swing toward liberalism in Bolivia." So far, so good.

But, biding their time behind the clamor of the students and workers of La Paz, other forces were lying in wait

which the State Department and the New York Times did not see—or rather, did not talk about. The students shouted "democracy"—which, among other things, meant the restoration of free enterprise. But in the background hovered a handful of absentee magnates and their foreign business associates, who wanted their own particular "free enterprise" to be restored. This enterprise consisted in running Bolivia's huge tin mines just as they wanted to—a bonanza business to which the common Bolivian owes his average income of \$14.20 per year.

The most important of these great barons are the gnomelike Simon I. Patiño, an octogenarian royalist who has not visited his native land since 1924; the German-born Mauricio Hochschild, whom the Villaroel government had indicted for violation of its labor laws; and the Bolivian-born Carlos Victor Aramayo.

The Patiño interests alone, known as Patiño Mines and Enterprises Consolidated, own more than half of the tin deposits of Bolivia. And since tin alone accounts for about 80 percent of the Bolivian national income, it may be said that Patiño—who, by the way, has always been a fanatic supporter of Spain's Generalissimo Franco—has a direct interest in about 40 percent of all that Bolivia earns.

The mine owners are also the owners of Bolivia's chief newspapers. Two of the more notable of these—*La Razón* and *Última Hora*—were suppressed by

the Villaroel regime. But this had been done only after these mouthpieces for the tin interests had begun openly to agitate for the overthrow of a government which was breaking the stranglehold which Patiño, Hochschild and Aramayo had on the country's economy. As soon as the revolution which they had fomented came off, these papers reappeared and flourished—and the New York Times proclaimed on July 23 that a free press had been restored by the "students, workers and professors."

A day later, the Associated Press gave part of the show away when it reported that the "tin miners have fully endorsed the triumphant government of students and workers." But next day the picture of harmony was upset by Ernesto Galarza, chief of the Labor Division of the Pan American Union, who spoke officially on behalf of the Confederation of Miners, the largest single labor group in Bolivia. He suggested that in reality the revolution was directed against the common people of Bolivia, and he emphasized his position a few days later by resigning his post with the Pan American Union in order to speak his mind freely about "some men [who are] willing to Balkanize South America in the old and dangerous game of power politics," and about North American policy makers who "are willing to trade the high idealism of the original Good Neighbor policy for low-grade tin ores, zinc, lead and, above all, oil."

The Men on the Inside

AS THE students' confused cheers died away, a gang of tin barons took over. The "liberalism" which is to be "legitimized" in Bolivia on January 4 is administered by a government headed by the elderly jurist, Tomas Monje Gutierrez, and weighted with the following Patiño handymen: Minister of the Treasury Luis Gonzales (recently legal counsel for the tin owners' industrial association); Minister of the Interior, Roberto Bilbao (former leader of the fascist organization, Iron Star, and representative of the Patiño interests on the board of the mine owners' Central Bank of Bolivia); Adviser to the Treasury, Luis Indaburu (recently legal counsel for Patiño, Hochschild and Ara-

Bryce Oliver has been a foreign correspondent, radio commentator and the co-author of What the South Americans Think of Us. He was recently defeated for Congress by Mrs. Katherine St. George in the 29th District in New York.

mayo); Ricardo Martinez Vargas, Ambassador to the United States (and recently the New York representative of Patiño Mines and Enterprises Consolidated); and Nestor Galindo, Ambassador to Bolivia's important neighbor, Peru (and recently Bolivian counsel for North American tin interests).

All those "students, workers and professors" who joined up with the "Anti-Fascist Democratic Front" in Bolivia have since had the chance to learn that a fast one was put over on them.

Two Dictators

THE January election will doubtless turn out favorably for the tin barons. Yet the state of things in Bolivia is not static. It has reached just another way station along that bloody path toward human emancipation which began at the close of the ferocious Chaco war with Paraguay. In the bitter disillusionment which followed that Bolivian defeat, the half-starved, shoeless miners and *pongos* (serfs of the landowners) began to understand their predicament a little better. They heard, for example, the story of the fabulous Patiño, who, as an important member of the Schneider-Creusot arms combine, had been quite willing to sell arms to enemy Paraguay. They heard that their rulers had not objected to parting with tremendous oil concessions to the North Americans for a mere \$27 million. And out of the discontent, the savage resentments and the misery, there came a new type of dictator, German Busch.

Busch was as ruthless as any other Bolivian dictator. But he turned his ruthlessness in a new direction. Reacting to popular pressure, he moved against the tin mine owners. He started to emancipate the *pongos*, raised the wages of the miners, forced Patiño and his confreres to leave part of their profits in Bolivia to be reinvested in schools, roads and home industries, and inveighed against exploitation by the Yankees.

The mine owners retaliated with charges through the press and radio that Busch was anti-Yankee—which was true enough—and pro-Nazi. Whether or not the latter was true, he did not throw out the leading pro-Nazi of Bolivia, General Carlos Quintanilla, a Patiño

henchman, who was then groomed by Busch's opponents to take over the government and restore the privileges of the mine owners.

In August, 1939, Busch died of a gunshot wound during a social affair in La Paz, and within three hours Quintanilla had miraculously formed a full cabinet, supported by the military. The Quintanilla government's official version of Busch's death was suicide.

But Quintanilla was too well known as a Patiño hatchetman to make a convincing picture as President of the Republic. For the sake of appearances, it was decided that the government must be "legitimized" by popular election. Accordingly, the affable and complacent Indian, Enrique Peñaranda, was picked as the official government candidate for President and was elected. The same pattern of "legitimizing" an overturn will be followed in the elections of next January 4.

Once "legitimized," the Peñaranda government proceeded to annul some newly promulgated Busch decrees. The laws restricting the amount of profits which might be siphoned out of Bolivia were loosened to the satisfaction of Patiño, Hochschild and Aramayo. And since the American and British governments and tin interests were interested in obtaining tin ore as cheaply as possible, Peñaranda became known as "Washington's Good Indian." Good for the mine owners but not good for the miners. Dollar exchange, needed for the purchase of foodstuffs and manufactured articles—mostly imported—rose steeply. The result was a 13-percent increase in the cost of living.

Popular Demonstrations

OUT OF the rising popular anger against Dollar Imperialism and government in the interest of absentee ownership grew the demonstrations at Oruro and other mining centers—demonstrations which were described in La Paz dispatches as "Nazi" uprisings. And because some of the denunciatory statements at the time were leveled against American customers of the mine owners, it was easy for the Peñaranda regime to spread the story that the agitation was Nazi-inspired. Even so, the

clamor of the National Revolutionary Movement grew until it swept a new dictator, Villaroel, into power.

Behind Villaroel stood a clique of highly nationalistic army officers who had no use either for democracy or the United States. But Nazi influences among them waned as Hitler's Germany weakened. Out went Quintanilla; out went General David Toro, a warm Hitler admirer. Steps were taken to nationalize German business firms, and in 1945, Villaroel boldly broke relations with Franco Spain. Inside the country he began to restore and extend the Busch reforms, and, like all other Bolivian dictators, he used terror—this time against both the Right and the Left. Of the brutalities, the outside world heard all. What the outside world never did hear of were the government coöperative stores to lower the cost of living, the government housing program, the wage increases and, above all, the renewal of measures to halt the exploitation of labor and to divert some of the tin profits into social security.

This was too much for the big tin crowd.

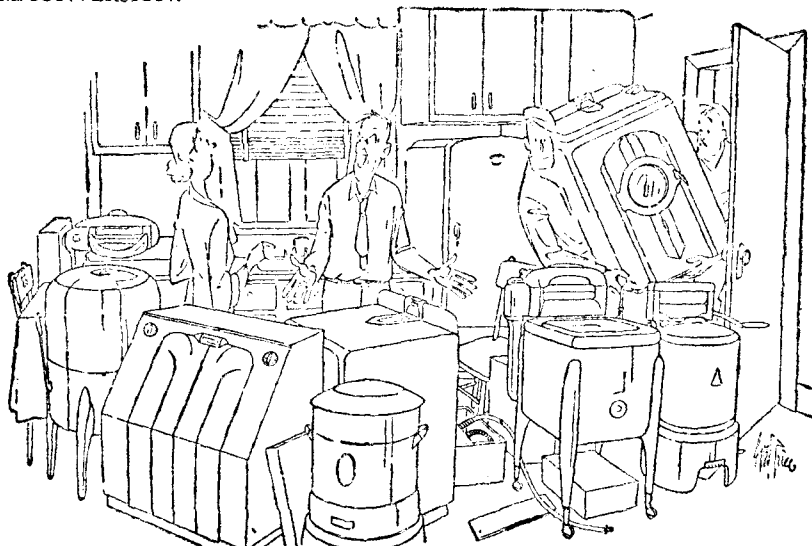
Back to the Barons

DESPITE the high hopes with which a large section of the US press has viewed the new revolutionary Bolivian regime, here are some of the things that are happening behind the scenes: Patiño Mines and Enterprises are moving to regain full control of \$15 million of blocked exchange; the regime is proposing to drop a tax-evasion suit against Patiño and to quash charges of labor-law violations against Hochschild.

Perhaps, though, the tin barons' free-for-all will not go on indefinitely. Realistic American and British business circles are beginning to wonder what will happen when the higher-grade ores from Malaya and the East Indies begin to come on the market in quantities, causing shutdowns among the low-grade Bolivian mines. It is quite possible that coming unemployment in Bolivia will result in a major upheaval. Next time the Bolivian masses may refuse to let themselves be fooled again.

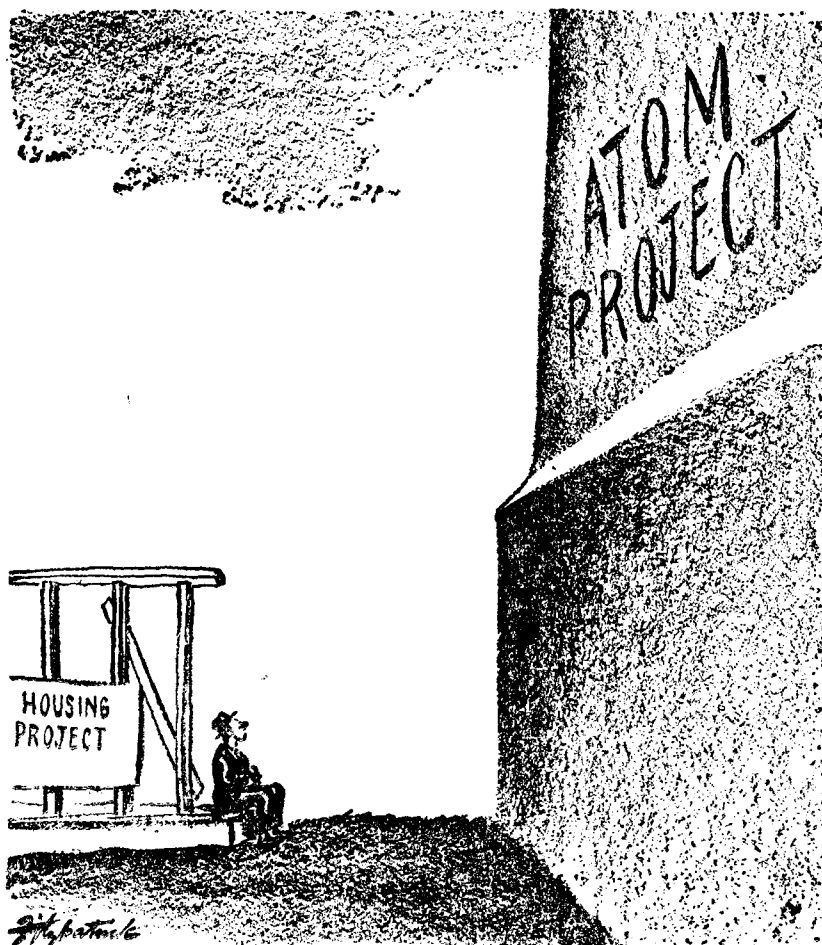
Cartoonists' View of 1946 (National Scene)

RECONVERSION:



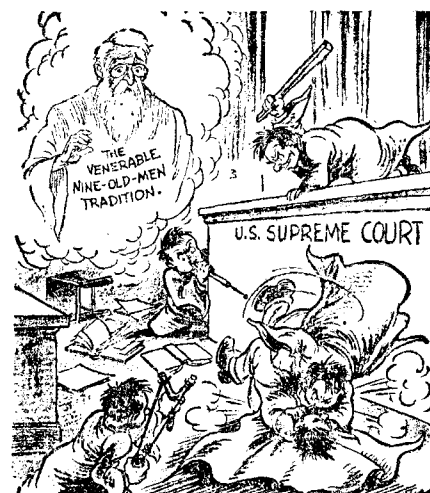
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"I warned you and warned you about putting your name on too many lists."

HOUSING:



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America's Peculiar Genius

SUPREME COURT:



Justus in the Minneapolis Star-Journal
"Oh, the fiery vehemence of youth!"

GM STRIKE:



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No monopoly on party disunity this season

COAL STRIKE:



Burek, 1946, Chicago Times, Inc.
Quoth The Raven, "Nevermore"

STOCK MARKET CRASH:



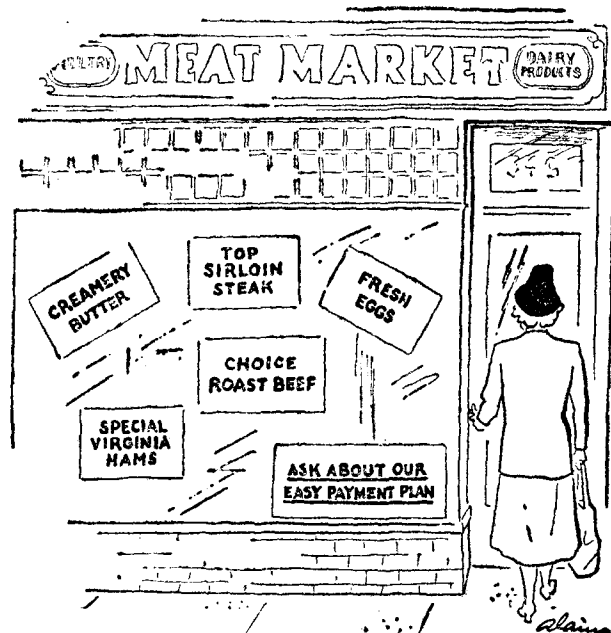
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No Witnesses

GOP VICTORY:



The Minneapolis Star-Journal
It isn't going to be all beer and skittles.

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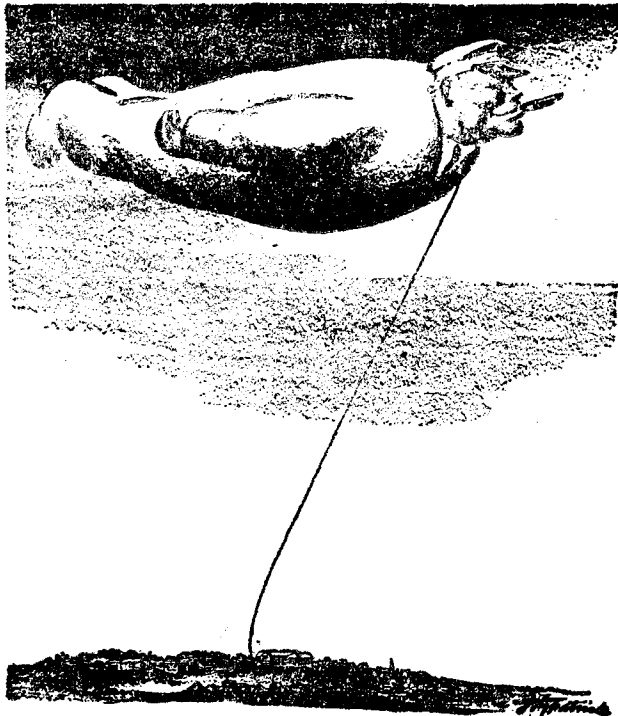
OPA:



Fitzpatrick, 1946, St. Louis Post-Dispatch
He's All Yours!

Cartoonists' View of 1946 (International Scene)

CHURCHILL SPEECH:



Fitzpatrick, 1946, St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Fulton's Finest Hour

THE FRANCO PROBLEM:



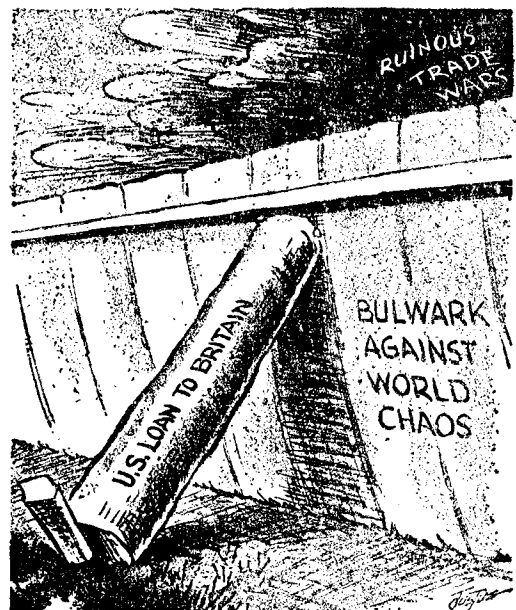
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CHINA'S CIVIL WAR:



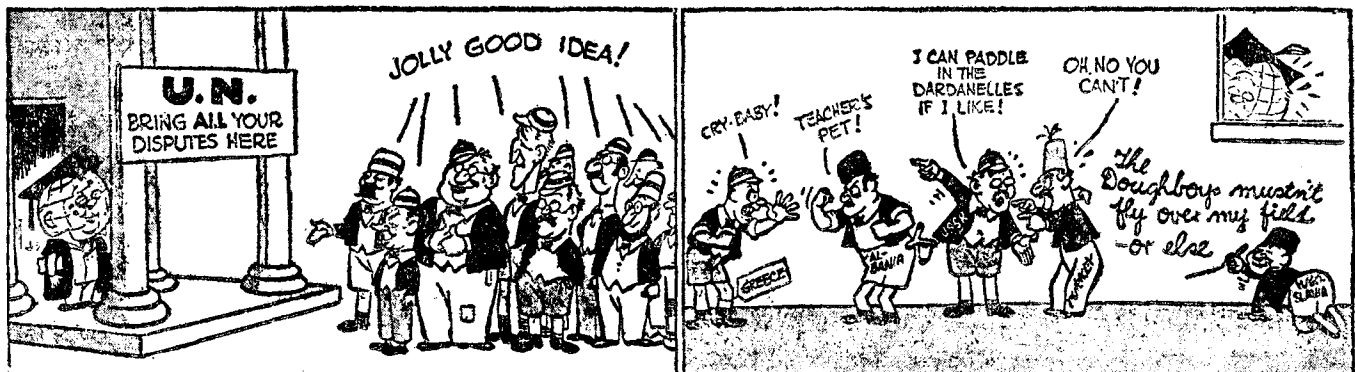
Bueck, 1946, Chicago Times, Inc.

LOAN TO BRITAIN:



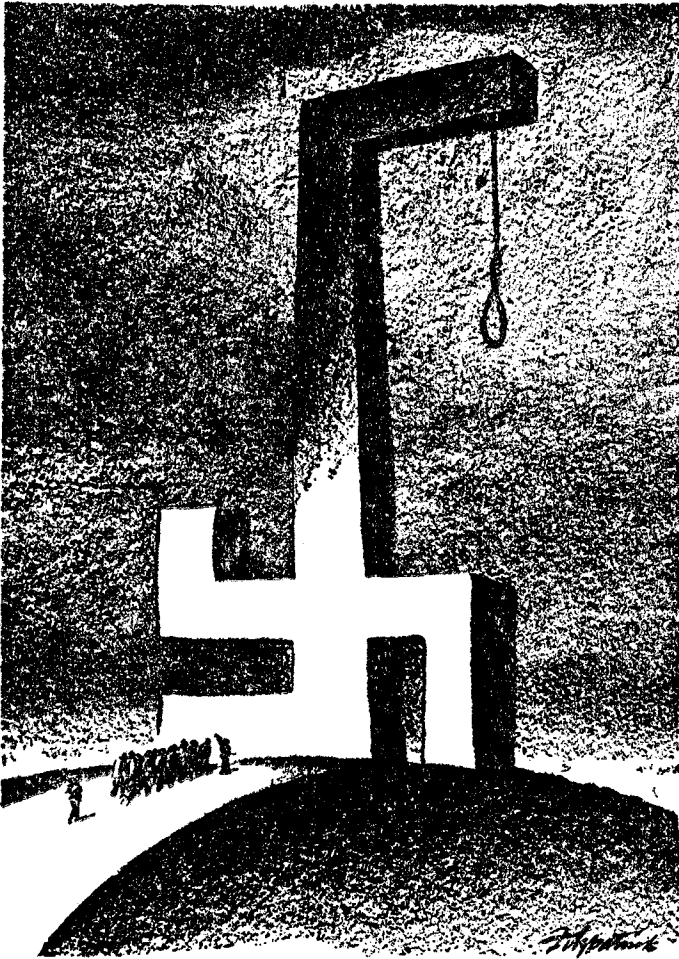
Justus in the Minneapolis Star-Journal
Much-Needed Prop

UNITED NATIONS:



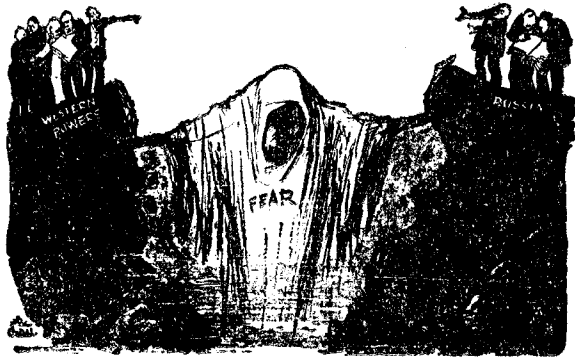
Butterworth in the Manchester Daily Dispatch

NUREMBERG VERDICT:



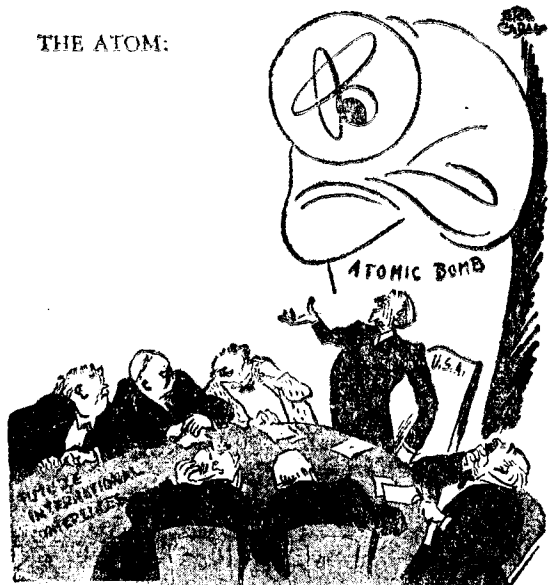
Fitzpatrick, 1946, St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Journey's End

THE BIG SPLIT:



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Why Not Build a Bridge?

THE ATOM:



Copyright 1946, by Field Publications, Inc.,
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"If I Were You, Gentlemen, I Would Just Ignore It."

ARGENTINA:

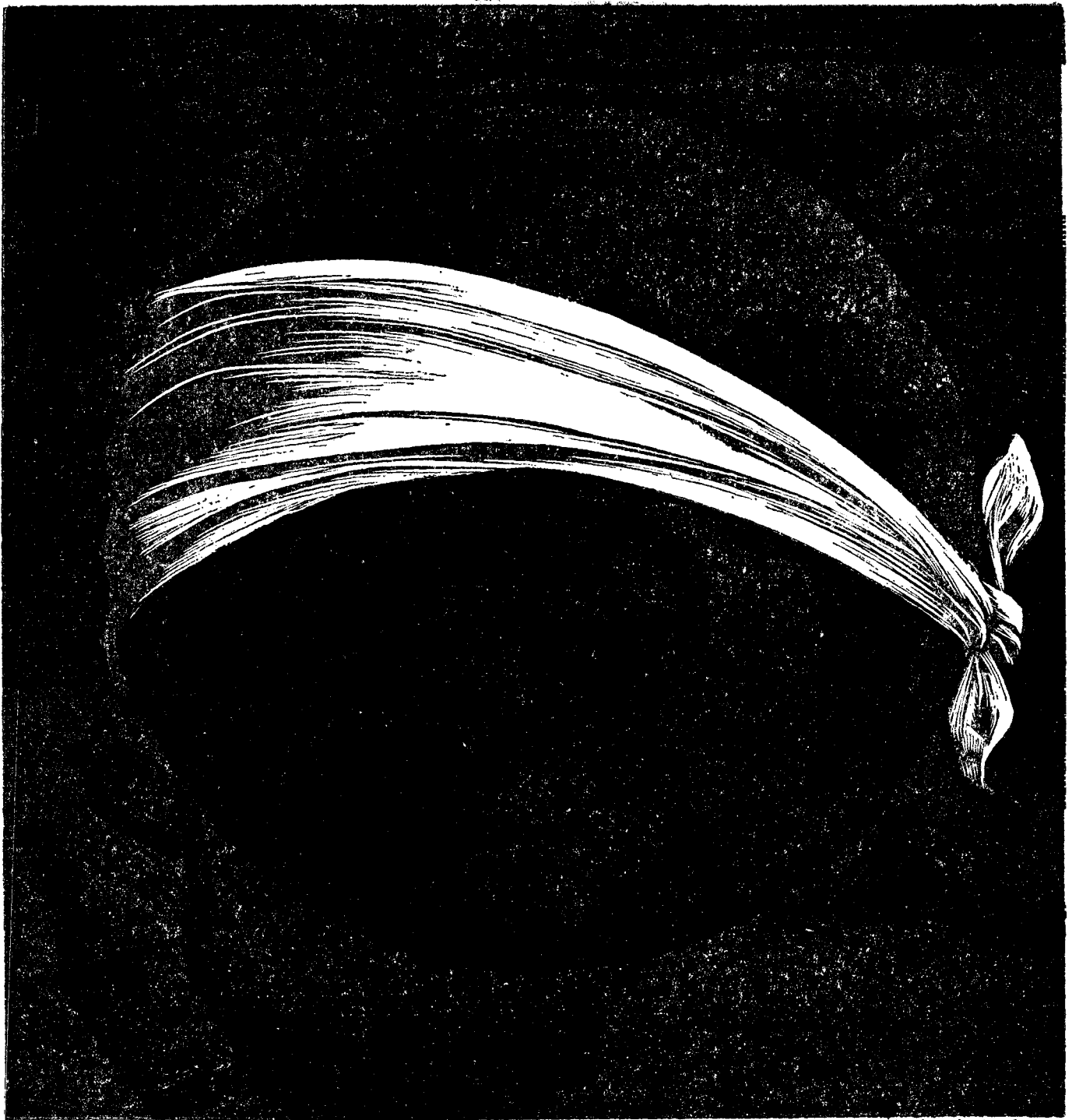


Russell in the Los Angeles Times
Bull of the Pampas

PEACE:



Franco America



Woodcut by Lynd Ward

*...so, rocking and rolling into 1947
with a monumental hangover, and
swearing never to touch the stuff again,
the Old Boy is just faintly cheered by the thought:
it's always darkest before the dawn.*



United Nations News

*Finale*

THE BARTENDER in the delegates' lounge was handing out each drink with the same comment: "You look tired." The cloakroom girl was shaking hands and wishing the delegate from India a Merry Christmas. Argentina's indefatigable Jose Arce was sputtering at some friends, and next to him, the UN's newest delegate—Prince Wan Wai-thayakon of Siam—heaved a long sigh.

In the Assembly chamber the delegates wriggled like schoolboys kept too long after hours. A pig-tailed girl sat behind the Iraqi delegation whispering excitedly to a friend.

A tired member of the Secretariat asked for a ride home with the delegate from Afghanistan, insisting that one man would be lost in that big car. A reporter asked the operator for the Press Division upstairs and was informed that it didn't exist.

Senator Austin as host, Secretary-General Lie and President-of-the-Assembly Spaak gave their farewell speeches. The Assembly broke up in a wave of weary applause and a few weak back-slaps.

The Assembly gave the public several new personalities, among them Paul-Henri Spaak, Belgium's Foreign Minister, whose humor, strict impartiality and expert knowledge of parliamentary procedure got the delegates through a back-breaking agenda.

In many ways the session had been a three-ring circus, with Senator Connally as its most talented clown, Sir Hartley Shawcross dancing across a legal and procedural tightrope, Dimitri Manuilsky barking orders in Russian, French and English, and Molotov receiving star billing in the center ring.

They had accomplished much. What they had left undone or what they had done badly might be repaired later.

ONE of the major problems left unfinished was that of trusteeship—a headache in the past and a promised headache for the future. It was not en-

tirely the fault of the General Assembly that some 700 million so-called subject peoples will find their status materially unchanged in the immediate future. The trouble is written into the United Nations Charter, which, for all its fine-sounding words, leaves the fate of these people pretty much in the hands of the same colonial powers which have manipulated them for years.

What came out in the Assembly trusteeship debates was the fact that these colonial powers are not even prepared to live up to those few Charter clauses which argue for future independence and self-rule. The Assembly was willing to approve the transfer of eight former League mandates to the UN trusteeship system and to establish the long-dormant Trusteeship Council. But the colonial powers were not yet ready to admit that colonial systems are an anachronism in the modern world, admissible only as a temporary bridge between subjection and independence.

MARSHAL SMUTS's attempt to annex Southwest Africa was a little too blatant an immorality for the Assembly to swallow. But the other powers which submitted trusteeship agreements—Australia, New Zealand, Belgium, France and the US, with its interest in Pacific islands—argued for much the same thing that Smuts wanted. They had the good sense to call it trusteeship, not annexation. Their arguments collided head-on with those of India and the Soviet Union, and the colonial powers won the rounds.

They forced the Assembly to side-step most of the major issues connected with trusteeship: what territories *must* be held in trust, if any; who should be consulted in drawing up the agreements; how far "military security" can go before a territory must be classified as a "strategic area" over which the Security Council alone has jurisdiction; last and most important, what rights are due the people who live in trust territories?

All these important questions remain unanswered. Britain declares there is nothing in the Charter that compels her to submit a mandate, such as Palestine, to UN jurisdiction. Russia says mandates and ex-enemy territories must be submitted. The colonial powers want absolute rights to draw up trusteeship agreements; Russia wants to have a voice as one of the Big Five and as a permanent member of the Trusteeship Council. The colonial powers want to build large military bases in trust territory; India and Russia claim there isn't any justification for this unless they want to ask Security Council approval for a "strategic area." Most important of all is India's complaint that the colonial powers propose to rule their trust territories as an integral part of home territory, which "public opinion in India would not subscribe to." In fact, the colonial powers even balk at holding regional conferences attended by representatives of the trust territories. They propose to have as little as possible to do with the subject peoples.

Small wonder then that the Soviet Union declared the agreements a violation of the Charter. The delegates emerged with an imperfect trusteeship system so full of omissions and differences as to be ineffectual, temporarily at least. If the Soviet Union decides to boycott the Council on the ground that its work is invalid anyhow, the chances of obtaining better agreements in the future will be further diminished. Healthy criticism from the USSR is necessary on a Council dominated by Western powers with a long colonial history.

WHEN the Assembly closed, the delegates had attended 35 plenary sessions, 357 committee and subcommittee meetings and had taken action on 73 subjects, including disarmament, refugees, trusteeship, Franco Spain, new members, budget and site. Delegates had also set a new pattern for meals at odd hours and sleep at almost no time. Their pin-striped or somberly dark business suits were a recognized diplomatic uniform. Their preference for dark horn-rimmed glasses (preferably with straight bows widening over the ears) promises to become a trend.

JANE BEDELL



Labor



Pittsburgh Prelude

PITTSBURGH: Sweet reasonableness is the theme this year as the Big Three of the Congress of Industrial Organizations head into collective-bargaining negotiations with the giants of American industry.

Last year, Philip Murray, Albert Fitzgerald of the Electrical Workers and the United Automobile Workers' leaders were feeling much more cocky than they do now. They all went into negotiations with preconceived and preannounced figures on wage demands. Murray asked for 25 cents across the board on virtually a take-it-or-leave-it basis. So did Fitzgerald. So did Walter Reuther.

Industry, knowing it could rely on fantastically big tax rebates, said "no"; and the strikes that followed were much rougher on the unions and on the country than on the companies.

Tax rebates will be smaller this year, but the extraordinary profits made by steel, electrical goods and most segments of the automobile industry make it possible for management to stall again—if it chooses.

Phil Murray is gambling that industry will not say "no" this time. He and Fitzgerald are going to the bargaining table with the threat of a strike so far in the background as to be no bigger than a man's hand. Murray means it when he says he "will move heaven and earth" to settle without a strike.

Therefore, over the opposition of some of the hotheads on his 44-man executive board and 174-man wage-policy board, Murray will go into negotiations with no fixed wage demands, but with the Nathan report beside him as a measure of Big Steel's ability to pay.

The UE is following Murray's example in presenting no specific demands. Walter Reuther, as was not unexpected here in Pittsburgh, jumped the track and came out for a specific 23½ cents plus fringe demands, bringing the total to about 30 cents. Privately, Murray was furious at Reuther, but publicly he put as good a face on it as he could.

"It is the privilege and problem of each international union to develop its own wage floor and ceiling," Murray said. Reuther sat beside him, grinning. "The limitations in these matters would be determined by collective bargaining. Each union must exercise its own degree of freedom in these matters."

Murray's feeling, and the feeling throughout headquarters of the Steelworkers here, was that the UAW demands were poor strategy but that they could have been a lot worse. In asking for 23½ cents, Reuther was saying that he was ready to settle for a shade less than 18 percent, excluding fringe, which is, of course, negotiable.

THE fringe issues presented by the Big Three in negotiation will follow pretty much the same pattern. They will include the union shop, portal-to-portal pay written into the contract, a guaranteed annual wage, eight paid holidays, longer vacations, severance pay, extension of the check-off and a health-and-welfare or social-security fund. All are important, Murray feels, and all are items for bargaining and trading.

So the pattern laid out in Pittsburgh is the pattern of straight collective bargaining, with the unions ready to give and take. Murray holds that this is as good a time as any to test the managements of heavy industry on their fine words about the workers and the bosses sitting down together and ironing out the little differences between them.

Industry is prosperous—has never been so prosperous, Murray emphasized. It will take home \$10 to \$15 billion this year, after taxes. The workers are not prosperous. True, they are not starving, but price rises and downgrading have sadly depleted *their* take-home. Industry can afford to do better by its employees, who are also its customers, than it is now doing. If the sweetly reasonable approach fails, then the little cloud in the background will become a big cloud.

How much are Murray and the CIO willing to concede in their leadership

of the 1947 wage fight? The definitive answer will come on next February 15, when the steelworkers' contract expires with Big Steel, but meanwhile there are hints and straws. Murray will ask for from 20 to 25 cents when he confronts Ben Fairless of US Steel. It is rumored strongly here that Big Steel is willing to grant 10 or 12 cents without a great fight. Then comes the actual bargaining at which Phil Murray is the master. The logical figure looks very much like 15 cents an hour across the board. Fifteen cents, plus some fringe, will not fulfill the promise of the Nathan report, but it will almost certainly prevent strikes next spring in basic steel, automobiles and electrical goods.

Meanwhile, Murray is taking no chances. Strike notices will be filed by January 15 against 1,400 steel fabricating companies (their contracts expire first—on February 15—and Murray has asked for an extension, pending negotiation of new contracts with the bigger concerns). The same procedure will be followed with the "sixty or more basic companies" as their expiration dates approach. Murray has already explained, however, that this is merely a protective measure to cover the unions if agreement is not reached by the deadlines.

CIO leaders here witnessed a first-class example of union toughness in the arbitration proceedings between the Duquesne Light Company and George L. Mueller's independent union—the former company union that got away.

The union was demanding 14 paid holidays: New Year's, Washington's Birthday, Lincoln's Birthday, Good Friday, Decoration Day, the Fourth of July, Labor Day, Thanksgiving Day, Christmas, Columbus Day, Election Day, Armistice Day, V-J Day and Easter. It asked straight-time pay for employees who do not work these days and double or triple time for those who do.

On vacations, the union called for from one to four weeks, depending upon length of service.

The threat behind the demands was a repetition of the 27-day power strike that crippled Pittsburgh and most of western Pennsylvania.



Farm



Soil on the Move

A FRIEND of mine once said, "You know, soil is like a woman. If you mistreat it, it's liable to leave you. A man should be as good to his soil as he is to his wife."

A lot of soil must have packed up and left home in the last few years, because during the war, care of the land became secondary. The main objective was production.

During and shortly after World War I the plowing up of grassland (40 million virgin acres were plowed in four states alone) and the continued plowing of other land which should never have been plowed created the Dust Bowl and impoverished millions of people. In 1934 and 1936 I saw black blizzards that darkened the sky as millions of tons of fertile topsoil were blown into high heaven.

The 1947 goals of the Department of Agriculture indicate that we may be making the same mistakes all over again. Although they call for only 13 million more acres than before the war (the total in cultivated crops will be 294 million acres), there will be a greater proportion of land in soil-robbing crops than ever before. As far as the soil is concerned, the war is still going on.

Here are the 1947 acreage figures on some of the most important soil-robbing crops:

	Acres	1937-41 Average
Corn	92,250,000	100%
Wheat	71,720,000	103%
Cotton	23,000,000	87%
Oats	44,670,000	113%
Soybeans	11,300,000	274%
Flaxseed	5,000,000	217%
Peanuts	2,750,000	151%

By soil-robbing I mean crops which either take more nutrients out of the soil than they put in or leave the land in a condition to be washed or blown away. Under natural conditions the soil is protected from rain and wind by a mantle of vegetation, but when a crop is raised on it, it is left almost com-

pletely exposed. Some crops—grass or clover, notably—protect the soil, but most crops do not. Soil conservationists put corn and cotton, for example, high on their list of soil-robbars, not only because you must remove all natural vegetation before you plant them, but because the soil between the rows must be stirred during the growing season.

Since water runs downhill, only sloping land is susceptible to soil washing. And the steeper the slope, the more severe the soil washing. Of the 400 million acres of cropland in the United States, 300 million are subject to wind and water erosion. And it has been proved time and again that if sloping land is put into cultivated crops year after year it will eventually become worthless. One hundred million acres have already been ruined this way and more is going down the drain every day. Tests prove that the Mississippi River deposits 730 million tons of soil in the Gulf of Mexico every year—an amount equivalent to one-half foot of topsoil from about 10,000 80-acre farms.

OUR food bank balance is in good shape but our soil balance is in the red. Department of Agriculture records show that cropland increased by 11 million acres in the corn-belt states. This increase is equal to the combined acreage of all crops harvested in 1945 in New England, New York and New Jersey. Ninety percent of this increase came from pasture land, and pasture land is usually sloping. The inevitable result of such land misuse is a tremendous increase in water erosion. The soil cannot continue to carry the burden.

My friend, Dr. Hugh Bennett, chief of the Soil Conservation Service, told me last week that wartime plowing in some areas had reached the danger point. "Dust storms will come again," Dr. Bennett said, "if we have a few dry years. If you plow up land that should have been in grass, you must pay the consequences."

Dr. Bennett has written more, talked more and been more influential in sav-

ing soil from wind and water than any other man in the country. He was in large part responsible for the founding of the Soil Conservation Service, was its first chief, and has held the job until the present time.

"Let me give you an example of unwise use of the land," he continued. "We worked for years to save a 100,000-acre tract of land out in Cheyenne County, Colorado, that was subject to severe wind erosion. Finally we got grass to grow on it. Eventually there was a good stand, and it was being used as the Lord intended.

"What happened when prices went up? Farmers, attracted by quick profits, plowed it up. A lot of other land was plowed up during the war in the short-grass country. In the Texas Panhandle they even plowed up sand dunes where the grass had come back. But—there's no question about it—it'll blow again."

UNHAPPILY, the tendency of our farmers to plow up such land because of high prices has increased throughout the country. The Department of Agriculture, however, may discourage such practices by revising downward the goals on land highly susceptible to erosion and by pointing out to the farmers that over a period of a few years conservation practices actually increase production.

Also the work of soil-conservation districts should be encouraged. Soil-conservation district organizations deserve special mention. More than four million of the nation's six million farmers are organized into democratically controlled soil-conservation district organizations. At the present time there are 1,722 districts in 46 states. Although they cooperate with various national and state agencies, they do not receive a nickel of government funds.

Farmers and government men should concentrate on the problem of getting more sloping land out of cultivated crop production. Land must be put back into grass and it seems to me there should be some early thinking along this line. Soil is about the hardest thing there is to grow and, as Dr. Bennett says, it is not political. Even a Republican should feel responsible for its welfare.

ANGUS McDONALD



Books



Another Year

A CALENDAR YEAR is as arbitrary a rule for measuring the literary current as it is for appraising an economic or political cycle. But it seems worth mentioning the fact that the following books were published in the United States in 1946.

Fiction: Robert Penn Warren's controversial *All the King's Men* headed the list of native American novels. The late Theodore Dreiser's *The Bulwark*, James T. Farrell's *Bernard Clare* and Edmund Wilson's *Memoirs of Hecate County* were probably the most notable contributions from established reputations. *The Fall of Valor* was less successful than Charles Jackson's earlier *The Lost Weekend*, but he had set himself a more difficult and a more ambitious task. Among first novels, Isaac Rosenfeld's *Passage from Home* and Alfred Hayes's *All Thy Conquests* were outstanding.

Imported fiction of merit included the Brazilian Graciliano Ramos' *Anguish* and the French Albert Camus' *The Stranger*, but as usual the majority came from the British Isles: Evelyn Waugh's *Brideshead Revisited*, Elizabeth Bowen's *Ivy Gripp'd the Steps*, P. H. Newby's *A Journey to the Interior*, Anna Kavan's *Asylum Piece*, Arthur Koestler's *Thieves in the Night* and George Orwell's disappointing but important *Animal Farm*.

Non-fiction: Among the titles that may survive the year of their birth are: *The Autobiography of William Allen White*; Alexander Baykov's *Development of the Soviet Economic System*; George Orwell's *Dickens, Dali and Others*; Sean O'Casey's *Drums under the Windows*; Joseph Dorfman's *The Economic Mind in American Civilization*; Morris Cohen's *The Faith of a Liberal*; Roy Meredith's *Mr. Lincoln's Camera Man: Matthew B. Brady*; Frederick Schuman's *Soviet Politics at Home and Abroad*; Leon Trotsky's *Stalin*; Cyril Connolly's *The Condemned Playground*; F. S. C. Northrup's *The Meet-*

ing of East and West; John Hersey's *Hiroshima*; Mark Schorer's *William Blake*; Jawaharlal Nehru's *The Discovery of India*; A. T. Mason's *Brandeis*; Theodore White and Annalee Jacoby's *Thunder Out of China*; Frances Perkins' *The Roosevelt I Knew*; Arturo Barea's *The Forging of a Rebel*; R. G. Tugwell's *The Stricken Land*; Ernest J. Simmons' *Leo Tolstoy*; Sumner Welles's *Where Are We Heading?* and Stephen Spender's *European Witness*.

Poetry: *Lough Derg*, by Denis Devlin, *Lord Weary's Castle*, by Robert Lowell and *The Selected Writings of Dylan Thomas* stand out.

As has been the case for several years, reprints, varying in price and value, have rivaled new books in popularity and critical consideration. A happy sign of peace was that for the first time in years art books were approaching pre-war standards, but, like almost all books, they were higher in price.

Note: Two members of the *New Republic* staff published books in 1946. Henry Wallace (in collaboration with Andrew J. Steiger) wrote *Soviet Asia Mission* and Malcolm Cowley edited and introduced the *Viking Portable Faulkner*.

GEORGE MAYBERRY

Empire's Island

THE UNITED STATES emerged from its war with Spain in equivocal possession of the island of Puerto Rico. Several decades of misrule were ended with the enlightened governorship of Rexford Guy Tugwell, who has set down the record of his administration in *The Stricken Land* (Doubleday, \$4.50). Governor Tugwell nevertheless estimates that, for the ten years succeeding President Roosevelt's inauguration, relief funds at the expense of the US Treasury have been not less than \$50 million a year. In spite of this largesse he states: "I have acquired a sense of shame which, if I could convey it to my fellow citizens, would, I think, result in ending a long-standing injustice, perpetrated unthinkingly against all con-

science and principle." His book may therefore be represented as special pleading, but it is special pleading in a special case of wrong, and if much space is given to his own career in Puerto Rico, this is necessary because his experience is bound up with that of the people to whom he has given years of his life. As a study of the evils without, arising in Washington, and the evils within the island, the book is a case history and a source book of colonial administration by a democracy.

GOVERNOR TUGWELL first saw Puerto Rico in 1934 when on a mission of investigation for President Roosevelt. From then on he remained in intimate contact with insular affairs. In the late thirties arose a popular movement among the peasants, or *jibaros*, who form perhaps three-fourths of the population of the island if one includes the displaced *jibaros* of the slums. The leader was Don Luis Muñoz Marín, the son of the island statesman who had wrung autonomy from Spain. Don Luis put an end to that political corruption which consisted in the crude sale of votes of the *jibaros* by uniting them in the demand for land and bread. From that time on the *jibaro* was for the most part incorruptible at the polls. In the election of 1940 the Popular Party won a slight edge over the coalition composed of the Republicans, Socialists and Liberals. A majority of one elected Don Luis Muñoz Marín president of the Senate, and the single representative of the *Liberales* in the lower house decided to act with the *Populares*, giving likewise a majority of one. Most unfortunately, however, the delegate elected in Congress was Bolívar Pagán, president of the Socialists, who became the Governor's bitterest enemy and the focus of hostility in Washington.

Before Tugwell assumed the governorship the Land Act had been passed, implementing the 500-acre law. Under his guidance, authorities were set up for the extension of control of water resources to electric power, and for transport, housing and industry. These interferences with and incursions upon private enterprise aroused the deep indignation of business interests, and Tugwellism became synonymous with

communism. Unfortunately, the Puerto Ricans who rushed to Washington with their complaints found ready acceptance by members of the Committees on Insular Affairs of both the Senate and the House. The chief newspaper of the island, *El Mundo*, was bitter in vituperation.

It was during the war that attacks on the Governor became a source of real danger. First, food supplies, inadequate at all times, became precarious. The German submarines dominated the Caribbean. For a period of 41 days there arrived only one small vessel. The importing merchants opposed government supplies unless they could control distribution. A prime example of cooperation between Puerto Rican reactionaries and Washington enemies of the New Deal was offered by the fate of a \$15 million appropriation for the relief of the island which Pagan persuaded Senator McKellar was intended as a slush fund for political purposes and which Representative Cole held up by a resolution forbidding its use so long as Tugwell remained Governor.

There were questions of the relations between civil and military authorities which had such disastrous repercussions in Hawaii. When the sugar planters provoked a strike, and when the Independistas insisted on continuing their campaign, there might have been a declaration of martial law except for the good understanding between the Governor and the commanders.

The Stricken Land is a frank, honest record of an administration conducted under difficulties and misconceptions emphasized by war but inherent in an abnormal situation. As Tugwell points out, the Governor is directly responsible to the President; he works through a division of the Interior Department; he is dependent for effectiveness upon his relations with the insular legislature; he is under the inspection of committees of Congress whose members are naturally and obviously affected by the interest of their own constituents in trade with the island, and who easily slip into alliance with the local importers. An instance occurred last winter when a proposal to extend Puerto Rico's industry to flour

Please Excuse the Handwriting!

Toulouse, France
November 12, 1946.

My deepest thanks for your help—the money without which my family and I would long ago have perished—and the warm sympathy, the knowledge that we are not forgotten—that you in America remember. I hope that it does not molest you too much to read my poor writing. But it is the first letter I have written since learning to write without hands. You see, I lost one arm in the war in Spain, the other here in France, while fighting in the Maquis. Again, all my thanks.

Florencio B—

GIVE FOR SPANISH REPUBLICANS IN 1947 Their 8th year of exile

The International Rescue and Relief Committee has resettled over 700 Spanish Republicans in the Western Hemisphere, aids thousands in France with regular cash allotments, food, clothing, medical care. Spanish children are cared for at the IRRC Rest Home in the Alps. In 1946, IRRC spent over 12,000,000 francs for Spanish Republicans. This work must go on. ACT NOW. Delay means added misery for the First Resisters. Send your check for Spanish Republican Relief today.

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milling was met with violent opposition from the chairman of the House Committee on Insular Affairs.

The election of 1944 resulted in an immense victory for the Popular Party. At once the Independistas increased their agitation. The Governor had a good answer for them. He could tell them that as an American he could support the movement, but as a Puerto Rican he feared that it would cost too much. The sugar benefits, the return of the internal-revenue taxes, the outright gifts for relief would be in jeopardy, probably lost.

Muñoz Marin, however, was in a spot. A plebiscite in Puerto Rico was naturally the way to decide the issue, but the Independistas, knowing that the *Jibaro* vote was in Muñoz's hands, were afraid to accept this way out without knowing his stand. In the winter of 1944-45 a commission on the status of the island was sent to Washington, and worked out plans for an extension of home rule, including an elected Governor; but this fell short of the demands of the Independistas, who meanwhile had found an ally in Senator Tydings, chairman of the Senate Committee on Insular Affairs. Don Muñoz Marin remains in the uncomfortable position of being urged to favor what he describes as a one-man plebiscite.

THE RELATIONS between Governor Tugwell and the powerful leader of the Legislature are worthy of study. The former has been accused of surrendering to the Popular Party. It is clear, however, that no Governor of Puerto Rico can be of use who does not co-operate with the elected representatives. The Coalicionistas refused Tugwell this coöperation. They rose in a body and marched out of the hall when he came to open a legislative session. They declined all social relations with the Fortaleza. They sabotaged measures necessary to the safety of their people in time of war. It would be difficult to conceive of opposition so factious, so disloyal, if we had not examples in Washington of the same behavior. In these circumstances the support given Governor Tugwell by Muñoz Marin is essential to save the island. At the time there developed the differ-

ence between a ruler responsible only to God and a minister responsible to his party, which is his instrument for making the will of God prevail. Undoubtedly, Tugwell thinks that Muñoz might have greater trust in God; Muñoz thinks that Tugwell should be more of an instrumentalist. It is obvious that the two allies have done infinitely more for Puerto Rico than has been accomplished in any preceding administration. Within the last year they have coöperated to set up the Agricultural Development Company, but the Governor has tried in vain to obtain a new civil-service law. Jobs are the life of every political party, and Muñoz cannot dispense with his subordinates.

The Governor also has his aides, the young and capable Puerto Ricans who direct the government-initiated enterprises which constitute an advance toward actual independence of the island. He contributed notably to the progress of the University of Puerto Rico in personnel, academic standards and responsibility of the student body under the Chancellor, Jaime Benitez, who may be called a pupil of Tugwell in public administration. One unhappy result of reliance for relief on the US Treasury has been the atrophy of local philanthropy. This has been revived through the establishment of the Milk Fund under Mrs. Tugwell's direction, by which some 400 stations have been opened throughout the island for the feeding of children. The awakening of the middle class owing to the Tugwell inspiration is a phenomenon comparable to that of the *Jibaros*. Together they are the hope of Puerto Rico.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

With Malice Toward All

DURING THE WAR, Jerome Weidman taught leaflet writing and physical education at the OWI training school on Marshall Field's estate near Huntington, Long Island. I wish he'd had a cooling-off period before writing *Too Early to Tell* (Reynal and Hitchcock, \$3), a novel about the Bureau of Psychological Combat Training School at Vaudracour on the Hudson. It doesn't contain much except some shrill, rasping sounds, as if

Weidman still thought himself strangled in red tape.

Weidman's mouthpiece is Lily Chace, secretary and general factotum at the school, a nice little wisecracker who suffers a formidable collection of incompetents, bunglers, fading juveniles and downright jerks; both Mrs. Chace and I found it rather depressing to watch Weidman stalk these wooden ducks of his own creation through 506 pages of inane cocktail parties, enervating policy meetings, red tape and intrigue.

And it is unfortunate for Weidman's satiric perspective that he is too deeply hypnotized by his prey to give more than a condescending pat on the head to those men and women of the OWI who did perform extraordinarily difficult tasks under the difficult conditions that he so one-sidedly deplors.

This is not to deny Weidman's new-found talent for barrel-house comedy, or his skill at writing dialogue that hoists his characters by their own petards, or the fact that *Too Early to Tell* has all the fascination of small, bitter talk by any qualified gossip. But one expects something beyond this from the man who wrote *I Can Get It for You Wholesale* and *We Won't Go There Any More*, and that is compassion and (to use Alfred Kazin's phrase) moral imagination.

JOHN H. PORTER

Fifth President

WHEN James Monroe of Virginia, pupil of Jefferson and Madison, was elected to the presidency for his second term in 1820, only one electoral vote was cast against him—but the "era of good feeling" hardly survived his inauguration. The Federalist Party had fallen to pieces, and the party of Jefferson was to become sharply divided. It was, as W. P. Cresson traces in some of the most interesting pages of his thorough *James Monroe* (University of North Carolina Press, \$5), a time of realignment of American political parties. With Monroe came the end of the revolutionary "Virginia Dynasty." Into what hands the government should pass was the subject of the bitterest conflicts. The conflicts were highly personal but, as Cresson writes, "from the details of

the personal struggles one can see the growing tendency toward the reappearance of political parties." Monroe's cabinet included three of the principal contenders. The Secretary of the Treasury, William Crawford, leader of the Southern slave-owning, states'-rights group, seemed to have the greatest chance of success. Calhoun, Secretary of War, was Crawford's chief Southern rival and also had support from the nationalist West. The austere John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, was the foremost Northern contender but he had little popular following. Outside the cabinet there was the rising frontiersman Andrew Jackson, and the brilliant Speaker of the House Henry Clay, "the man around whom would crystalize the elements of a new political party." Adams recorded in his diary that "all public business in Congress now connects itself with intrigues, and there is a great danger that the whole government will degenerate into a struggle of cabals." There is much of particular interest today in the long sweep of American history from the time Monroe was an 18-year-old officer in the Revolutionary Army. Cresson recounts it fully and his story of "the last of the cocked hats" deserves a wide audience.

COLEMAN ROSENBERGER

A Reader's List

Underground to Palestine (Boni and Gaer, \$2.50). I. F. Stone was the first newspaperman to join the clandestine exodus of suffering Jews from postwar Europe. PM readers will remember the series of columns recording his travels through the Jewish underground and his final arrival in Palestine on an "illegal" ship crowded with over a thousand emigrants. These columns describing DP camps, the hardships of his companions in eluding border patrols, the work of the Haganah, the misery of the few surviving European Jews, adventure and suspense on an Italian beach and the final hell aboard ship gain a stirring continuity by being published in book form. They wound the conscience of the civilized reader and they add necessary clarity and understanding to today's headlines about Palestine. For Stone there is no question

of Zionism versus anti-Zionism. To him "Palestine is not a matter of theory." He asks: "Have the Jews any choice? Is any country opening its doors to them? Has anything come of the endless conferences on refugees?" He tells over and over again he heard: "We want to build a Jewish country. . . . We are tired of putting our sweat and blood into places where we are not welcome. . . ." And Stone concludes that in the current struggle "Britain will emerge with shame, but not with victory."

Lost Men of American History, by Stewart H. Holbrook (Macmillan, \$3.50). Every schoolboy learns that Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin. But American generations have lived and died without being told who invented the American drugstore soda fountain. That influential but forgotten genius was John Matthews of Massachusetts (c. 1832)—delivered now by Stewart Holbrook from the "nameless limbo" to which America has relegated too many of her significant (or merely interesting) sons and daughters. Holbrook is a shrewd commentator with a sharp eye for lively and unorthodox history. Rescued from oblivion are a bevy of notable progenitors: Uriah Stephens, father of organized labor; George Shoemaker, father of anthracite mining (denounced for selling "black stones" as fuel); Jahudi Ashmun, father of Liberia; and others literally too numerous to mention. Holbrook's study is especially rich in examples of that "most typical American product of the nineteenth century," the fanatical reformer with a purpose. A wonderful book about several score wonderful Americans.

Robert Morss Lovett, for many years an editor of the New Republic, was later Government Secretary of the Virgin Islands and a professor at the University of Puerto Rico.

John H. Porter is a free-lance writer who lives in New York City.

Coleman Rosenberger, a member of the Virginia bar, has contributed to the Nation, New Republic, New York Herald Tribune Book Review, New York Times Book Review, etc. He is now editing an anthology about Virginia.

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Correspondence

*"Deliberately False"*

SIR: In the issue of the *New Republic* dated December 16, you print, on page 790, in a story relating to John L. Lewis and the coal strike, the following:

Truman's heart hardened against Lewis and against his own compromise-minded advisers. He determined to take his stand and hold the line against Lewis if it took all winter. He delegated the leadership of the fight to the toughest men around him: General Counsel Clark Clifford and the ubiquitous George Allen, both reinforced by conservative Bernard Baruch.

That statement, in so far as it relates to me, is wholly false, and deliberately so, since the truth easily could have been ascertained by asking me.

I have never communicated with the President on this subject. I have been busy, as you have reason to recall, on the work of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission.

I expect you to correct this error which, I should think, is an unfortunate way to begin a new job depending on public confidence.

New York City

BERNARD M. BARUCH

Upon receipt of Bernard Baruch's letter, Henry A. Wallace released the following reply to the press:

I received by messenger, three hours after it had been released to the press, Mr. Baruch's letter which assumes I personally committed an error with regard to him. Mr. Baruch would not write to the editor of the *New York Times* to get a correction of a news report. As an experienced elder statesman who has had an infinite number of contacts with newspapermen, he knows the ways of the press. He must know that I naturally had nothing to do with this story from Washington. On investigation since receiving Mr. Baruch's letter, I find that our reporter had excellent basis for stating that Mr. Baruch was supporting Clark Clifford and George Allen in their attitude. Mr. Baruch says that this is not true. I hereby accept Mr. Baruch's word that he reporter was misinformed. Now that Mr. Baruch has given us his private telephone number, we shall see that hereafter our reporters check with him on every story involving so eminent a figure.

HENRY A. WALLACE

Wages and Prices

SIR: The press alarm over the miners' demands for a shorter week at wages to meet runaway prices has set in motion a dangerous misconception which should be nailed. It is the notion that the wage demands cause higher prices. Exactly the opposite is true. With price controls removed, wage demands are in effect the one remaining brake on rising prices, since these demands, backed by the right to strike, serve notice that the wheels of industry will stop if the people cannot buy.

The miners' demands were the logical outcome of the killing of the OPA, and the men who led the attack on the OPA are therefore chiefly responsible for the resultant strike and tie-up. The knifing of the OPA was the real body blow at our national life, and its effects are only beginning to be felt. The mining crisis, moreover, is a much needed warning that certain shipwreck lies ahead unless the American people organize to reassert their right to security and a decent living by wresting control from the monopolists who are leading us to disaster.

St. Louis, Mo.

J. KNOWLES ROBBINS

Laski Fund

SIR: Harold Laski, having been refused damages in his recent libel suit brought against the *Newark Advertiser*, is obliged to pay all costs, which may amount to \$80,000. To help him meet this crippling obligation the Laski Fund has been set up here, and we shall tremendously appreciate any contributions that Laski's American friends and admirers may care to make. The address is the Laski Fund, Transport House, Smith Square, London SW1.

London

MICHAEL YOUNG

[Checks drawn on American banks are now directly negotiable in the United Kingdom.]

Compulsory Voting

SIR: In "Washington Wire," in the November 25 issue, the writer [TRB] asks himself the question, "Why did the Republicans win the election?" And he replies, "Primarily, in the opinion of this column, because of the stay-at-home vote." Which impels me to ask, "Why should there be a stay-at-home vote?"

In every election campaign, more time, effort and money are expended to induce the citizen to register and vote than on any other phase. All of this waste could be avoided by the simple expedient of a compulsory-voting law. . . . It may be argued that such a law would impair the fundamental right of freedom of action. Perhaps so, but the rights of the individual member of a community are always subordinate to the rights of its mem-

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bership as a whole. There are a great many such invasions. The citizen is compelled to perform jury duty, to make out tax reports and to pay taxes, to send his children to school, to support his family and to leave his business, home and family and shoulder a gun.

Which inspires another thought. If a federal compulsory-voting law were enacted, would it not result in finally assuring the Negro in the South the right to vote? Since the law would compel him to vote, any interference with or deprivation of such right would be the commission of a criminal offense.

New York City HENRY WALDMAN

Oppressed

SIR: I write to you in the interests of the oppressed who cannot write himself. . . .

He is the man who is picked up on the streets [here] and forced into the army, the tool of the dictator and the officers' caste who live in fear and dispose of

those who would have starving people fed.

People who think are dangerous to them; well fed people will have to work less for more; leisure means time for education, and education will show the people how to govern themselves—which means less money for government officials, agencies and corporations, American firms included. . . .

When huge farms are still run on a system like feudalism, when people are sick, ill clothed and starving, something must be done. . . . Perhaps economic and political pressure from the United States would force into existence free public education, modern transportation, sanitation and medicine. . . .

Tonight in the square three boys sat and stared at me with a look I shall not forget. Their eyes were looking at something from another world, realizing there was something they were missing. I wish I had not seen their eyes.

La Union, El Salvador

M. L.



Bandwagon



Brothers in the Lord

Baptist churchmen who won passage of a convention resolution construed as advocating joint Negro and white church attendance said today that the delegates probably did not know what they were voting on. . . . Dr. Louis S. Gaines, who read the resolution and moved that it be adopted, said today the action was merely an ideal and should not be interpreted to mean that Baptists at this time approve of joint white-Negro congregations. — *UP dispatch from Asheville, N. C.*

Q. E. D.

It is true that the removal of rent ceilings would be followed by an increase in rents, but this would not necessarily lead, in the long run, to an increase in living costs. For with more of consumers' incomes being paid for rent, just that much less would be left to bid up the prices of everything else. — *Henry Hazlitt in Newsweek.*

Cheap at Half the Price

The building of Hell was one of the more important tasks facing Producer Charles R. Rogers and his staff in filming "Angel on My Shoulder." . . .

About \$160,000 was spent in its construction at General Service Studios. — *From the San Francisco Chronicle.*

He Should Know

General Francisco Franco said today in a Columbus Day speech that the policy of his government was based on respect for law and that "all tyranny is hateful, but the worst tyranny is that which is imposed from abroad." — *AP dispatch from Madrid.*

Had Enough?

For Sale—Combination gas stove, bob sled, side-arm water heater, baby swing and gate. — *Advertisement in the Aurora (Illinois) Beacon-News.*

Debilitating

Judge Adlow [principal speaker at a dinner of the New England Council] said that the government should drop its "something-for-nothing" policy and declared that social gains were "debilitating and weakening the spiritual and moral fabric of the community." — *From the Boston Daily Globe.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; \$1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. — THE EDITORS

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Movies



Stranglers and Treadors

A RARE TYPE of big-theatre movie is the cheerless British film, "Wanted for Murder," made on a shoestring by Marcel Hellman and using a great deal of unposed action in London streets, parks and at a fairground. The film doesn't come off too well—its portrait of a compulsive strangler is thin, and the adaptation from an English play has many static, stereotyped moments—but it has an interesting, home-made newsreelish look that few movies have today. The players move curiously at a quicker, more hectic pace than those in studio films; when a Hyde Park crowd surges against a police line or the villain crosses a street, they seem to hurl forward dangerously in dramatic movement. Shot without artificial lighting, the architecture looks cold, bleak, forbidding, and it accentuates the smallness, forlornness and vulnerability of the people. The trickiest item in a low-cost production is the sound recording, and in this respect "Wanted for Murder" slips up. It is another of those rattling movies in which a weak old mother opens her mouth and lets go a blast that reminds you of a subway train.

Hollywood is queasy about showing any but the most ghoulish gangster as an out-and-out killer, and often makes dangerous criminals softer than they should ever be. There is much less romanticizing of this film's gentleman-strangler. He is a beefy businessman (Eric Portman) who pretends to befriend pretty working girls and then strangles them in lonely spots in the park. As this worried, introverted, somewhat childish businessman eyes a toothsome girl near a Punch and Judy stand, you get a strong impression of morbid, fear-ridden existence. But you aren't shown enough of the maniac's grisly career picking up stray girls, puzzling them with his fancy-pants manner and then snuffing them out.

Portman is particularly effective through his bulkiness and moody, introverted silences, but he goes very blank

and amateurish in the scenes that count the most. He is extraordinarily wrong with a meek Cockney girl. As the strangle fever starts possessing him, he looks like a tabloid poet wrestling with a verse about cloudy skies, and you feel his victim probably choked to death watching him mug. It is too bad that this movie, which at its best reminds you of Graham Greene's *Brighton Rock*, fails generally by being so sketchy in its portrait of the murderer.

EVEN moviegoers who detest Hollywood's slickness will feel that "Carmen"—an item about Spanish gypsies, played by French actors, using English titles, Italian scenery and Second Avenue hock-shop clothes—could stand some polishing. The editing is so crazy that each time some swooning Spaniard starts the climb to Carmen's second-floor love nest you can expect the next shot to show him buying bananas in the village square or having a knife fight with a hairy character named Garcia on top of Mt. Etna. The screen is generally half-covered with English titles, but even so the love affair between Carmen and Don Jose is hard to grasp.

If you like to keep warm in your neighborhood theatre these days or have to review movies for a living, you can find something good in any film, and so it is with "Carmen." It has an unusually eerie dagger fight, a long sequence on bullfighting that is very instructive except that the bull and the treador slink past each other as though they were imitating Hollywood's idea of a Negro's walk.

The movie, essentially a cowboy film in serapes, has to do with the smooth love affair between a gypsy (Viviane Romance, who is too sophisticated and mellow for the part), and a soldier (Jean Marais). To win Carmen's love, the soldier has only to kill his commanding officer, turn traitor, take up banditry and rub out another of Carmen's lovers, the most feared of Spanish killers. As soon as he has performed these harrowing feats, she leaves him for the first and

worst treador that whistles at her. This one dies and the unhappy soldier, who seems destined to frustration, must kill her on her orders. This he does in a good smoky scene on top of Mt. Etna, while mission bells clang nearby.

TILL THE CLOUDS ROLL BY" (which makes a better title for a biography of Jerome Kern than some of his other song titles like "Who" or "Bill" or "Kalua") is a strange biography that credits much of Kern's success to a Tin Pan Alley arranger named James Hessler (Van Heflin). As far as I know, this is complete fiction. The movie reproduces the several musical-comedy scenes in which Kern's songs were first sprung, and the Metro stars who do the singing generally have small voices and go in for excessive mugging to cover up that fact. The good moments turn up when Ann Bremer sings the exciting "Who" and when Frank Sinatra performs a well phrased job on "Old Man River."

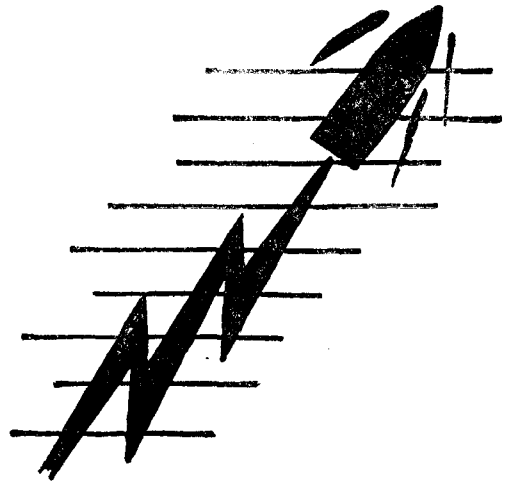
Flashback.—Despite a hackneyed script, the Italian film "Open City" seems to me the best movie released in 1946. The six I liked next best were "It Happened at the Inn," "The Best Years of Our Lives," "Henry V," "Brief Encounter," "The Killers" and "The Strange Love of Martha Ivers." Anna Magnani's performance in "Open City" as the full-blooded, vital Pina, who was so completely the middle-class Italian under the Nazi regime, is the most perfect job by an actress in years and years. Robert Montgomery in "They Were Expendable" is excellent as the efficient, officious naval officer. Robert Le Vigny gives a poignant performance of Toncan in "It Happened at the Inn."

Best supporting performances: Renee Asherson's virginal, Dresden-doll princess in "Henry V"; Walter Baldwin in "The Best Years of Our Lives." Best directing: Roberto Rossellini ("Open City"). Best photography: Ubaldo Arata ("Open City"). Best musical score: Miklos Rosza ("The Killers"). Best Western: "Canyon Passage." Best musical: "State Fair."

Worst Movies: "Undercurrent," "The Harvey Girls," "Pardon My Past" and "The Postman Always Rings Twice."

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Letter of the Week

(Continued from page 891)

bottles and leave stratosphere thinking to brains like Leon Henderson?"

Well, I'd rather not. Sounding off on the state of the union is an old custom around barber shops, grocery-store stoves and dinner tables. I may be putting myself out on a limb, talking about tomorrow. But if my barber can do it, why can't I?

I'll bet a shiny apple there won't be any crippling strikes in 1947. I think our labor leaders have learned it doesn't pay to stage a prolonged strike for raises that are out the window before they're in the envelope. They're asking for more money. I think business is going to be smart enough to give them a good part of what they want.

I think both sides know the important thing is to get back to work. A year's uninterrupted turning of the same wheels that ground Hitler to bits will produce a flood of goods such as the world has never seen. And when there are goods to buy, the workman's buck will again rate like a buck instead of a lead quarter. When his missus hands over a dollar for a bottle of milk and a pound of butter, she'll get some change for a change. I'm predicting that a year from now there will be a shortage of shortages.

As for the Big Bomb and the Gremlin in the Kremlin, I'm not saying we're out of the woods yet, but at least we've stopped choosing up sides for another brawl. The boys know the next one is for keeps. I'm betting on peace for the simple reason everyone wants to stay alive.

The prophets of doom will say this is all too easy. They'll continue shouting, "Take to the hills—the dam is busted!"

Well, let's take a look at the professional wet blanket and his record over the years.

During the panic of 1837, the *Detroit Free Press* wailed, "All is darkness and despair. As a nation we are at the bottom of the hill."

During the panic of 1857, the *Phila-*

delphia Gazette moaned, "Nothing in this country is safe, solvent or reliable."

In 1873, the *New York World* sobbed, "Collapse is a grim reality. The days of the Republic are numbered."

In 1893, the *New Orleans Picayune* epitaphed, "On every hand there is depression, wreck and ruin. We can't go much farther."

In 1907, the *Wall Street Journal* solemnly announced, "The old ship of state is sinking." The *Journal of Commerce* said, "Even Morgan is using the subway."

They said it again in '29 and again in '37. And all the time they were counting Mr. Whiskers out, he was tossing railroad lines around this country like spaghetti. He produced autos faster than other nations produced shoes, and shoes faster than they produced matches. He gave the average man a refrigerator, and more stuff to put in it than the average

man has had in the history of planet Earth.

Now, when the panic isn't even on, we're again hearing from the unhappiness boys—the inside dope from their usually unreliable sources. I'm afraid I'm not frightened.

Like every great fighter, Uncle Sam takes an occasional left to the jaw. But he has learned to roll with the punches, and only a sucker would bet against him. Today he's heavyweight champ of the world, and I'm betting he keeps the title.

And that's why, Mr. Wallace, I can't write a swan-song piece for your magazine.

Happy New Year, BILLY ROSE

We weren't around in 1837, but we do remember 1929. We didn't like it and we don't want any more of it, even though Billy Rose promises us the patient will live. — THE EDITORS



New Republic News



Pen in Hand

It's an old axiom of journalism that most people who take the trouble to write you are mad about something. You've trod on their pet corn, or put words in their mouths, or—worst of all—misspelled their names. Maybe just now we're off on a honeymoon with our readers, but for us the pendulum is swinging away over to the other extreme.

We're getting some kicks, sure enough—there's one lady out on the West Coast, for example, who hates us for the somewhat irrelevant reason that she wants J. Edgar Hoover for President. But take it on balance, the response to the first issue of the *NR* under Henry A. Wallace is making us grin like Cheshires.

Most of the comment is directed at the Wallace editorial. A typical letter says: "I have never found myself in such complete agreement with so many points in any article I have ever read in my life. Coming against a background of pretty dreary circumstance, it's a song and a battle cry."

For the over-all idea of a liberal magazine that will really roll up its sleeves, there is an enthusiasm that is expressing itself in loud cheers and a flood of subscriptions. We like especially the rather sporting Unitarian minister who sends us his check and concludes his letter: "Cut loose, dear brethren, and get going." We'll do just that.

THE mail that comes directly to Wallace has us a bit groggy. In addition to what you would expect in the way of expressions of best wishes, suggestions for articles and applications for jobs, he has been invited in the past couple of weeks to speak in about every state of the Union; he has been asked to join the board of directors of a bank, to contribute a regular article to an Indian newspaper, to help a high-school girl write an essay on the philosophy of the New Deal, and to engage in a table-tennis tournament. To these and the hundreds like them, he can only reply, often reluctantly, that he's a very busy man. He is that—he has to edit this magazine and answer his mail.

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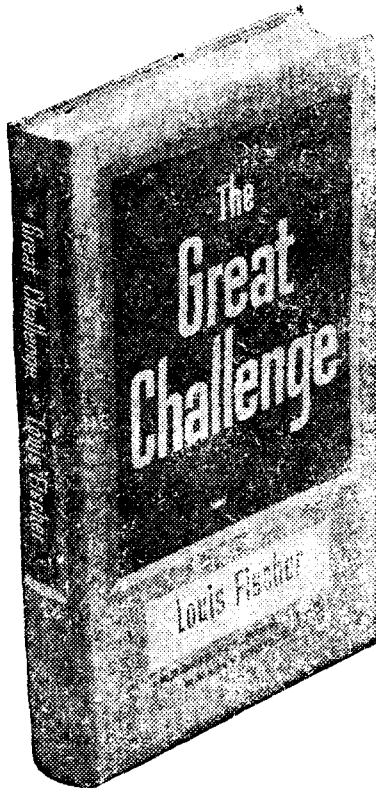
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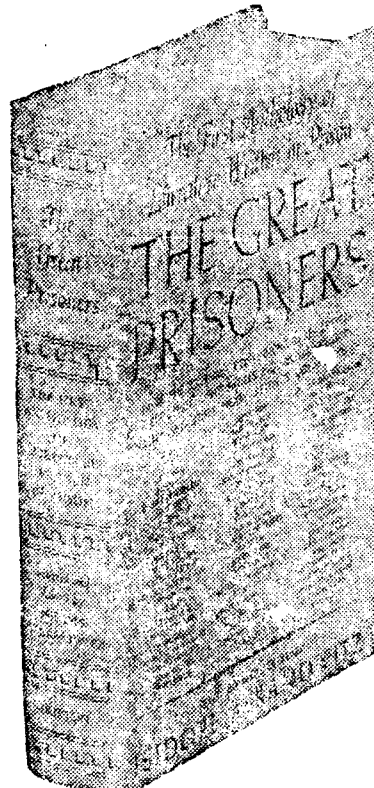
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